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# West China Union University

## Annual Report of the Board of Governors to the Co-operating Missionary Organizations, 1926-27

To the Friends and Sponsors of the University:

With the Annual Meeting, held in Toronto, September 28 and 29, the University faces a new year, and your Board begs to report as follows concerning the year just closed:

### A CRITICAL YEAR.

In all the seventeen years of its history, the University has faced no such crisis or series of crises as the past year has witnessed. The main facts are doubtless familiar to you and need not be repeated in detail in this report. West China has been relatively out of the main current of that political strife which has swept China during the past year, yet she has at times been violently agitated by the eddy and backwash of that mighty stream. While Szechuan has enjoyed perhaps a greater degree of peace than usual, she has been sensitive and responsive to political and military movements elsewhere in China. The campaign of ideas, by which doubtless the new China will at length be won, has been carried within her borders. Along with perfectly legitimate national ideals, active propaganda has spread radical and subversive doctrines. In Szechwan, as elsewhere in China, student groups have been peculiarly available instruments in the campaign of ideas, and here, as elsewhere, they have carried matters at times to extremes.

The University opened last September (1926) most hopefully, with an enrollment a little above two hundred and fifty, almost a record enrollment. But student feeling in the city of Chengtu was greatly inflamed by the Wan Hsien incident. Agitators made all possible capital of it. The University student body was compelled to declare itself. It seemed that the University must close, but after days of struggle, a majority resolved that the institution must be kept open. Eighty students withdrew and joined the radical group in the city, forcing a strike on all employers of foreigners and of mission institutions. Two weeks of suspense and anxiety followed, when the matter was adjusted. Ere the close of the first term, the general political situation was so tense that the Consuls decided upon the withdrawal of foreigners from the province, and by the middle of February the majority of the missionary community had left West China. However, there were still nine of the foreign Faculty

remaining, and these, with the aid of a number of other foreigners, supported by the loyal endeavors of the Chinese teachers, carried on. Even with the aid of an additional number of Chinese teachers, the best available, the work had to be curtailed severely in certain departments, notably in Medicine. The story of this ever-memorable year cannot here be rehearsed, but the Christian courage and faithfulness of the missionary Faculty and their Chinese coadjutors is beyond all praise. One hundred and sixty-five students were registered for the second term, and a class of thirteen was graduated as the Class of 1927. It were well to keep in mind the fact that the *time of crisis has not ended*. Presumably the University, in keeping with its published announcement, opened for the current year. How is the all-too-limited and overburdened staff to carry on another year?

#### DEVOLUTION OF UNIVERSITY ADMINISTRATION.

It was the thought and hope of the founders that West China Union University should, in the end, be a completely Chinese institution. The very architecture bears witness to this hope. Yet, ere such hope could be realized, there must be developed an adequate leadership and a sufficient support for the maintenance of the institution. It cannot be assumed that administrative control should be limited to keep step with financial support. It seems quite probable that we shall be within reach of the first quite in advance of the second. How rapidly administrative devolution should proceed cannot be determined by academic considerations alone. The practical exigencies of the situation have to be taken into account. It is these practical exigencies which have determined to a very large extent the steps in administration which have been taken during the past year, as well as certain other related steps. These steps will be seen in their proper perspective in relation to the question of Registration, which we do not attempt at this point to discuss. Actions of the Senate making religious courses voluntary and nominating to the Senate a sufficient number of Chinese to afford a Chinese majority, were in line with the requirements for registration, but they were taken quite as much in compliance with an urgent and growing sentiment of the Chinese constituency. This series of actions culminated in the election by the Senate of Rev. Lincoln Dsang, M.A., B.D., as Chinese vice-president of the University, in which capacity he served the institution during the second term of the year just ended, being associated in administration, with Rev. George W. Sparling, the acting vice-president. The above actions of the Senate have been approved by the Board of Governors.

#### THE QUESTION OF REGISTRATION.

The general question is not new. The University has long since taken a positive position toward the matter. Yet the changing situation has given fresh definition and perhaps fresh urgency to the matter. During the past year both the Senate and the Board of Governors have spent a goodly measure of time facing the issue. The framing of a policy is embarrassed by the alternating claims of Peking and Nanking to rule Szechwan, for their educational requirements are not identical. It is further embarrassed by the general political unrest and uncertainty and the



doubt as to whether a stable government, able to guarantee the rights of registered institutions, is likely to be realized at an early date. All the major steps to registration have, with a single exception, been taken. That exception, an item in the list of requirements issued by the southern government, is that the president of the University shall be a Chinese. The Senate has requested the Board of Governors to make possible the meeting of this requirement when it becomes absolutely necessary by an action conferring such authority upon the Senate. President Beech has offered his resignation in order that the Board may be unembarrassed in its action in this matter. Both the Executive and the Board of Governors itself have wrestled with this problem, seeking such a solution as shall carry the judgment of our Chinese brethren, satisfy government that we recognize its just prerogative, and at the same time conserve as fully as may be the Christian character of the institution. The Board believes that it is justified in a relative conservatism, and that such a position is wholly in keeping with its declared intent that the University shall become a completely Chinese institution. The time available for this matter at the annual meeting did not suffice, and the Board accordingly adjourned to meet on October 23 and 24, that it might, in unhurried conference, reach a just and constructive policy concerning registration. A supplementary statement on this matter may be expected at an early date.

#### THE BUILDING PROGRAM.

It is a matter of surprise to many that it has been possible to make any headway with the building program under the disturbed conditions of the past year. Indeed, we may well use President Beech's phrase, when he says that building has gone forward "with remarkable facility." Two wings of the Medical building are presumably now ready for use, and the Cadbury Education building has been started. In the hands of Mr. Walter Small, as Building Superintendent, we are well along with the building program. With the increase in Chinese staff, the question of adequate housing for the Chinese administrative officers and teachers becomes a very urgent one. It is a matter of general gratification, following the completion of the Friends' College Building a year ago, that the Church Missionary Society has secured an eligible site for the erection of the first unit of its permanent college buildings. President Beech, in his annual report to the Board, informs us that in the seven years since he last met the Board there have been erected a total of fourteen university and college buildings and eleven staff residences—surely a notable record.

#### PROBLEMS OF FINANCE.

Your Board would once again bring to the attention of the supporting bodies the financial needs of the institution. It has been necessary in the emergency situation of the past year to engage a considerable number of Chinese teachers. The amount allotted from the budget of the university for teachers' salaries, proved insufficient, and the Senate made an appeal extraordinary to the Missions for funds to meet the emergency, to which appeal is received a generous response. If these Chinese teachers are to remain, and in any case during the interim until

the foreign staff shall have returned to its post, continued provision must be made. It is even a question how far the university can or should return to the situation which has previously existed. If an increased proportion of the Faculty of the University is to be Chinese, adjustments to meet that situation must be made. In view of these and other factors in the situation, the Senate asked increased appropriations for the ensuing year. But there is a limit beyond which such a policy cannot proceed without disaster!

#### IS THE UNIVERSITY WORTH MAINTAINING?

Of course none of us seriously doubts that it is. But it may be well to ponder the meaning of such a question. It is tantamount to asking, "Is the Christian enterprise in West China worth carrying on?" Says President Beech:

"The Christian program in West China has been greatly restricted by the departure of missionaries, but it has not collapsed and I believe the University is the essential reason."

Indeed, the University *is* the essential reason, for it has produced a new and indispensable type of leadership. Of the 71 living graduates of that institution, 64 are in Christian service or preparing for it. And into the ranks of that prepared leadership young women are now entering, through the good offices of the University. It is quite probable that the greatest single contribution, which the supporting bodies can make to the evangelization and Christianization of China, will be through a generation of confident and competent Christian leaders. If we conclude that the University is worth maintaining, we should remember that it is a growing institution. We, your Board of Governors, would bring it once again, as a primary claim, to the constituent and supporting mission organizations. Dear Brethren and Sisters, do not ask us to make bricks without straw.

The Political Situation  
as Seen by foreign  
Missions Conference  
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THE MISSIONARY SITUATION IN CHINA

(Note:- This statement was approved by the Committee of Reference and Counsel of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America at its meeting on February 16, 1927. The Committee instructed its officers to send the statement to "all the North American Boards working in China for their consideration and such action as they may deem necessary or desirable.")

These are stirring times in China, times pregnant with great opportunity and also with serious danger. Wise action now may prove of immense value to the future of the Christian Church in China. If rightly perceived, the opportunities for giving a vital spiritual message to the Chinese people are the greatest that have ever come to the Christian forces in China. These times, therefore, call for faith and courage, for earnest prayer and unselfish service.

China is becoming a nation. The possibility of a strong and united China, the overthrow of the militarists, the establishment of real democracy, and the economic uplift of the poverty-stricken masses are the aims that fill the hearts of the Chinese people with expectation and hope. They see on the horizon the glimmerings of a possible solution of their national problems. In the last twenty years there have been no days of such hopefulness for the Chinese nation as now.

The Christian Church in China is growing in its consciousness of its responsibilities and opportunities. It will gain in spiritual power as it repulses the attacks made upon it along various lines. It is attacked because of the foreign nature in her organization, administration, personnel and support. The attack is not so much on religion as on foreign influence in the Church. Again, the Church is denounced as an instrument of capitalism. This is a challenge to the Church to define more clearly what is the Christian attitude toward the existing social order. The needs of the farmer and labor groups call for sympathetic consideration and relief. And, again, the Church is attacked as an outworn institution, a relic of superstition, and an opponent of human progress. This is the criticism of the atheist and agnostic. Still another line of attack is on the ground that the Church does not practice what it preaches. This calls upon the Church to purify its own life and make its practices more consistent with its own ideals. Clear thinking on the problem of the relation of Christianity and politics is required. The principle of religious liberty must be safeguarded. Everywhere the Church is being compelled to seek a fuller understanding of the Christian message. Where the Church is intimidated and persecuted, Christian devotion is being strengthened by its severe testing. Christian leadership is being developed. We rejoice and give thanks to God for the Church established in China in preparation for these days. The latent spiritual perception of this great nation is being awakened. By joining forces now with God in a renewed devotion and consecration we can bring to pass a revolution of

the spirit that shall overwhelm the forces of evil and go far toward the establishment of God's Kingdom in China in this generation.

The Christians of America must share these dangers and hopes and sympathize with these aspirations. They must not be slow in giving practical expression to their desire to aid in every legitimate way in obtaining the realization by the Chinese people of their rightful aims as a great nation. To the Christian Church in China especially will they desire to give assistance as may be possible that the Church may overcome such dangers as may threaten and may exercise a powerful influence in determining the course of events, and particularly in turning men's thoughts from the merely political into channels through which God's spirit may flow and thus bring about a great spiritual revival. To that end, the North American Mission Boards invite the Churches and missions in China to state fully and frankly their desires and purposes in order that there may result the largest possible measure of cooperation. This is a time when, as never before, the Christian forces must stand together, missionaries and Chinese Christians. The Chinese Christians must find that they can count on the active sympathy and cooperation of foreign Christians in their hopes and disappointments, their national aspirations as well as their personal sufferings.

Reviewing the situation in China in the light of recent developments, the North American Mission Boards working in China desire to reaffirm the actions they have previously taken with reference to these questions, and their continued readiness to advance as rapidly as may be possible and desirable. Among the various matters to which they have been giving attention, they would refer to the following:-

1. In the past two years they have repeatedly expressed their sympathy with China as her people have aspired to realize their national unity with the establishment of a stable and just government, and the readjustment of the treaty relations between China and other nations as agreed in the Nine Power Treaty signed in Washington in 1922. In seeking to give practical effect to such statements, they have made representations to their governments earnestly asking for such action as was required in order to aid as might be possible those who were endeavoring to obtain the fulfillment of these desires for China. They have noted with satisfaction the recent declarations on behalf of the governments of the United States and Great Britain of their readiness to negotiate, either jointly with other Powers, or separately, new treaties dealing with the entire subject of the tariff and extraterritoriality. In order that the position of these Mission Boards may be entirely clear, it is re-stated as follows:-

- a. The special privileges claimed by foreigners in China are a target for the Nationalist Party. The history of these privileges is not a matter that need be discussed in this statement. The method of their termination ought to be agreed upon by negotiation on terms of mutual friendliness and goodwill what equal justice may be done to all concerned. The situation seems to be developing rapidly into one in which the only question will be concerning the new agreements that must take the place of the former treaties. The Chinese people feel that these privileges are derogatory to their national autonomy and independence, and hinder them in establishing the strong civil government so essential to their welfare. The North American Mission Boards working in China, therefore, will continue to do all in their power to support the declared purposes of their governments to negotiate new treaties with China on equitable and reciprocal terms. They will urge that such negotiations be begun as soon as possible.

b. When the new treaties are negotiated, it will be most important for the missionary forces to make sure that full effect be given to the desire already repeatedly expressed by the Boards that no "distinctive privileges for missions and missionaries as such be imposed by treaty upon the Chinese Government and people". The fact that the rights of Christian missions are included among those claimed by foreigners under the Treaties is one of the hindrances to the progress of Christianity at the present time in China. These rights and privileges of missionaries and of their property and work are such as we trust will be recognized and granted by the free action of the Chinese people and their government.

c. Such measures as may be possible that will carry out the purposes described above should be immediately adopted. The negotiation of treaties must necessarily wait upon diplomatic formalities. The questions involved are of concern to many parties with different interests, which so far as they are legitimate, must be considered by the governments. It is recognized, that a government cannot distinguish between different groups of its nationals, and must exercise its natural responsibilities for the protection of all alike. It is also clear that the protection of the lives of foreign missionaries and of the property of foreign missions is dependent not so much upon what western governments may do for them, but upon the goodwill of the Chinese people and government. Therefore, it is desirable that the missionary boards and their missions in China, while recognizing the rights and duties of their national citizenship, should continue to look to the Chinese government and people for their personal safety and for the safeguarding of the interests of their missionary work, and continue to avoid calling upon their government for military protection.

2. Religious freedom is an issue at stake that is of fundamental importance to the Chinese people and not only to the Christian Church. The North American Churches will continue to support the Chinese Churches in striving to preserve that right at all costs. They are most earnest in asking that no limitation be imposed that infringes upon these elemental rights of men everywhere or that threatens the liberty of men's consciences.

3. It is entirely natural and right that the Chinese people desire that education in all grades of schools and colleges in China should be in harmony with national ideals and culture. The North American missionary boards desire to make it unmistakably clear that the institutions to which they give aid are not alien in their character and purpose. They recognize the entire propriety of the registration of private schools by the government and of the establishment of educational standards applicable to all schools but they believe that such regulations should allow full liberty of religious instruction and worship in schools supported by private funds.

4. The establishment and development of a Church, naturalized in China, supported and controlled by the Chinese Christians has always been a primary aim of the Christian missions. In the realization of that aim the missionary boards will not falter nor hesitate. They call upon their Chinese brethren to assume the responsibilities that must be theirs to carry. They should advise their missionaries to press forward rapidly in accomplishing this purpose. Each Board will welcome definite proposals that will involve the assumption of larger responsibility by the Chinese Churches under the guidance of God's Spirit to fulfill their part in the task of evangelizing China's people and will also appeal to American Christians to cooperate more fully and effectively in this work.

The Churches in America and the Churches in China also need to face the hard facts as to the small degree to which self-support and administrative and financial responsibility have as yet been achieved and ways must be found to hasten the genuine autonomy and economic self-dependence of the Church. We must all come to see that the great characteristics needed by the Chinese Church are not in the keeping of the Western Churches and cannot be given to the Chinese Church by them but can only be achieved by the Chinese Church itself by sacrifice, and faith, by toil and struggle and love.

5. The missionaries in China are facing unusual difficulties. Their work in some places is interrupted. Anti-Christian movements have challenged them and often tried their patience by unfair attacks. The loyalty of the missionaries and their unselfish devotion demand strong, effective support from their friends. They should be better supplied with the means to do larger and more effective work. Moreover, they will need the cooperation of the Boards in making the necessary adjustments in the administration of Church and missionary relationships, with a view to the earliest possible administrative control of the work and by the assumption of the evangelistic and financial responsibility for it by the Chinese Christians.

6. The increasing anti-Christian propaganda and the use of the public press in China make it important for the Christian forces to increase the production of effective Christian literature. The North American Mission Boards, therefore, would urge upon the Churches and missions in China, upon the National Christian Council and all concerned the necessity of giving most earnest attention to the discovery of writers and to providing them with all possible assistance in producing the books, periodicals and pamphlets that are needed in the adequate presentation of the Christian Message in these days.

7. For the Christian people in America effective publicity regarding the missionary situation in China is especially needed at this time. The Boards will doubtless give favorable consideration to plans for cooperation in such work. Some of the lines on which the Christian public need information are the following:

a. The interpretation of the present movements in China, their purposes and the possible consequences of their development. While recognizing the danger to the Church and to Christian workers from the extremely radical elements, we must seek to enter into sympathetic understanding of the aspirations for unity in China with justice, equality and freedom.

b. The extent of and reasons for the temporary withdrawal of missionary families from some stations.

c. The trend of the development in missionary work, which needs to be so interpreted as to hold and strengthen the interest of American Churches.

d. China's need for more missionaries, and the great extent of the unfinished task.

8. Believing that the Gospel of Jesus Christ, which is the power of God unto salvation, can become effective in the minds, hearts and lives of the people in China, not in word only, but also in power, and in the Holy Spirit, and in much assurance, and knowing that the resources of God are always released in

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answer to the united prayers of Christ's followers, a call to prayer should be issued at this time with the fervent hope that all Christians in America will continue steadfast in prayer, until "God is all round us, a breaking sea of love and truth and power".

Let us Pray

That the rulers of all nations may set themselves to learn and serve the purpose of God; that the spirit of justice, righteousness and goodwill may govern them in their social, economic and political relations with the Republic of China.

Let us Pray

That those who lead in the affairs of China may be men of high ideals, pure purposes, and that they may seek divine wisdom for guidance and the Holy Spirit for empowering strength.

Let us Pray

That the Chinese Christians and the Chinese Churches may be given abundant grace at this time, when their faith in Jesus Christ is sorely tried; that they may be strong in the fear of God and in the love of righteousness; that they may proclaim by word and deed the truths of the everlasting Gospel; and that they may be given some satisfying token of the ultimate triumph with which the Lord shall bless their self-sacrifice.

Let us Pray

That the missionaries in China may have grace to walk worthy of their high calling in Christ Jesus, in every time of trial; that they may bear constant testimony by their work of faith and labor of love and patience of hope in our Lord Jesus Christ, and that they may ever be ready for any sacrifice in order to make known the only true Saviour to the millions of Chinese, confident of His undergirding presence and all prevailing power!

Let us Pray

That the Church of God may see the great need of China for Christ; that she may give more largely of her sympathy, of her thought and of her help for the service of the Kingdom of God in China; that a great number of well-qualified men and women may offer themselves unreservedly to do Christ's work in China; and that the Spirit of God may work mightily in the hearts of all men everywhere, so that those things which we ask faithfully we may obtain effectually, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

New York, February 17, 1927.



THE SITUATION IN CHINA - II.

A. L. WARNSHUIS

February 1, 1927.

From the information that has reached me, it appears that missionaries have been compelled to leave their stations, largely as a precautionary measure, only in the following provinces of China, -

- Fukien, - only from some of the stations in the northern part of the province.
- Hunan, - on the advice of the American Consul, a number of missionaries have left Chang-sha and some other places.
- Szechwan, - west of Chung-king. From Chengtu and other centers, a number of the women and children and some of the families whose furloughs were soon due have been evacuated. The latest reports are that it is quiet in Chengtu but because of the prevailing unrest, it was deemed wise to reduce the number of foreigners in this area.
- Kwangtung, - The American Baptist missionaries have all been gathered in Swatow for their annual conference, which was attended by Dr. Franklin, and the Society's deputation. The families of these missionaries are temporarily remaining in the port.
- Kiangsu, - On the advice of the American Consul, some of the women and children have been brought in from some of the out-stations in the Shanghai district.

In all other parts of China, the reports show that the missionaries are continuing their usual work in their stations.

It should be remembered that the Chinese New Years Day (old style) is on February 2nd this year. Normally, the schools would be closed for about a month, - say from January 20th to February 17th.

Some distinctions may well be made between the disturbances in different places: (1) The trouble at Hankow has arisen out of the political situation in which the Nationalist authorities are endeavoring to abolish the special privileges in the British residential concession. At Kiukiang the same situation exists, and there the compound of the Methodist Mission in the native city was unmolested while serious attacks were directed against the British concession. Foreign residential concessions exist in only nine ports in China, and it is only in these places that such trouble may be experienced; (2) At Foochow the attack on the churches and missions was due to the action of a mob that was aroused by the false reports regarding the orphanage of the Dominican sisters. Riots like that can hardly be foreseen, and are not likely to occur in many places or frequently.

Somewhat different from the situation that arises from mobs is that which is caused by the unrest created by the propoganda of the Nationalist Party in the areas that have recently come under their control. The Party is definitely committed to the policy of enlisting the farmers and working people in the present revolution. The third of Sun Yat-Sen's principles commits the Party to a program to mitigate the hard lot of the masses. It is pointed out that in the last fifteen years the price of rice has advanced three times faster than wages. Everywhere unions of all sorts are organized and great increases in wages are demanded. The government is entrusted to committees, - neighborhood, district, city, provincial, and national. Each of these committees seems at present to be pretty much a law unto itself and its activities, therefore, depend on the membership which gets together and gets itself recognized in a given area. A competent observer has reported that the City Committee of Changsha includes seven Left Wing and only three Right Wing members. This would account for the ascendancy of the red element in Changsha. In Wuchang, it is said, the Party Committee is composed of six Right Wing and four Left Wing members. This would help explain in turn the better conditions prevailing in Wuchang as compared with Changsha, both from the standpoint of labor troubles and of anti-Christian agitation.

In order to give more information regarding the Nationalist Movement in China, I am appending to this note some extracts from a report made by Mr. Eugene E. Barnett, of the staff of the National Committee of the Y. M. C. A., who visited Hankow, December 13-19, 1926, and also from an article written by Mr. T. Z. Koo. The article by Mr. Koo is intended only for private circulation, as it was written for publication in England. Until it has been published, it should not be quoted in any printed form. It is also requested that Mr. Barnett should not be publicly quoted. The other information in this statement, as well as the longer statement issued on November 16, 1926, may be freely used. The desirability of furnishing authoritative information through our church periodicals and other newspapers is obvious.

In all parts of China the "unequal treaties" are denounced, but it is important to note that the antagonism is directed against the special privileges claimed by foreigners more than against them as foreigners. For the present this anti-foreign-privilege slogan is one of the principal bonds that hold the diverse elements in the Party together. Eventually, the main contest will come within the Party between the communistic and other sections. Meanwhile, it seems most desirable that prompt action should be taken by the foreign governments to make clear to China beyond the possibility of doubt that they desire to reach quickly an equitable settlement of the controversies that center round the treaties.

The attitude of the government in Washington is in favor of the negotiation with China of a new treaty on an equitable and reciprocal basis. The Porter resolution, which urges that proposals for such negotiations should be made by the President, has been favorably reported by the Committee on Foreign Affairs, which in its report to the House of Representatives suggests that these proposals should be communicated promptly to China through the Chinese Minister resident in Washington. A copy of this report is enclosed herewith. I venture to suggest that the Mission Boards working in China might well address communications to the Secretary of State, the Senator and the representative of their own district urging that prompt action be taken by the government in accordance with the spirit of this resolution and the statement made by the Secretary of State on January 26th.

With reference to the attitude of the Christian missionary forces towards these great movements that are developing in China, I quote the following from a note written by Dr. E.H. Hume, President of Yale-in-China,-

"Do we not need to bear in mind constantly how much more our Chinese friends are suffering than the foreign workers? Theirs is often real physical danger; their grief over the excesses of the moment is far deeper than most of us realize. It is their country that is full of strife and confusion. For its welfare they are living and their disappointment over the setbacks is intense.

As their fellow-Christians, are we not called upon for a naturalizing of our sympathies in the Chinese atmosphere, so that we feel with them the acuteness of their distress, grieve with them at the temporary triumph of immoderate forces, work with them for the unifying of their land, plan with them for sound civil government to replace militarism, seek with them to establish order within the nation and just relations with other nations? There is a sad note in a recent letter from a leading Chinese Christian educator, as he writes "Most foreigners who are engaged in Christian educational work can only see what is on the surface. They are much worried, annoyed and irritated by the superficial attacks on them by the organized unions, but they have failed to grasp the deeper significance of the underlying motives of the nationalist government."

Can we not also share in the rejoicing of Chinese Christians over the outburst of national consciousness which is such a reality today? How much more ready for reconstruction China is now than when the nation's life was stagnant! As the reservoir of national feeling has become full to overflowing, is it not natural that the violence of the current should strain the structure of the national life to the limit of its endurance? Is not the present movement one of excessive vitality, of kindled emotion, that stand out in striking contrast to the indifference, the sblidity, the deadness, of days only recently past? Is it not to be expected that our Chinese fellow-Christians, taught that the truth is a liberating force, should share eagerly in the patriotic movements of the day? Is it surprising that some of them are found among the extremists? Let us be grateful, rather, that China is alive. Her love of fair play and her emphasis on moral values will prevent her from being premanently dominated by subversive forces.

Once more, shall we not rejoice that there is so little evidence of personal antagonism against foreign workers? The commander-in-chief of the Kuomintang armies and several of his colleagues in high office have stated in no uncertain terms their desire to conserve every institution that is serving the community effectively. They insist, however, that these shall become part of the life of China, in spisit as well as in external form and control. Foreign teachers, doctors and church workers, who are willing to identify themselves with the aspirations and needs of the China of today in self-effacing and cooperative spirit, will continue to be used and welcomed for decades to come."

-Call to Prayer -

The present situation in China is a call to prayer. China is in the midst of a vast upheaval, not only political, social, and economic, but also spiritual in character. The spirit of the Christ is most urgently needed for guidance and for strengthening. For these reasons the following are suggested as coming within the realm of prayer needed at this time:

1. That those who are leading Chinese thought may be actuated by unselfish motives, by pure purposes, directed by Divine wisdom, and empowered by the Holy Spirit.

2. That missionaries may be given the discernment of the great love to penetrate "accidentals", finding God's grace underlying and having the supremest consciousness of His undergirding presence, and confidence in His ability.

3. That evilly disposed persons may be effectually hindered from interfering with the legitimate expression and growth of those forces and ideas which directly result from the activity of the spirit of truth.

4. That all Christians may be rendered extremely sensitive to the vastness, the intricacy, the dangers, and the wondrous potency of the upheaval and unrest now manifest in the world as related to the extension of God's Kingdom.

5. That God's spirit may not be fettered in the slightest degree but that because of energies now released His Kingdom might break forth in the world in unmeasured richness and power and with a glory never before imagined.

China. No man can gauge her possibilities for affecting the future of the human race. To bring her in to the fold of endeavor and thus to link her up with all those who love God supremely is a task of unequalled magnitude. It challenges the utmost of faith. By joining forces now with God in a renewed devotion and consecration we can bring to pass a revolution of the spirit that shall overwhelm the forces of evil and go far toward the establishment of God's Kingdom in this generation.

The above is quoted from the pamphlet issued by the Committee of Reference and Counsel in December 1925, entitled "The Present Situation in China and its Significance for Christian Missions".

Reference may be made to two books recently published that contain much helpful material for these days.

(1) The China Christian Year Book for 1926. This may be ordered from the Committee of Reference and Counsel, price \$2.50.

(2) China Through Chinese Eyes, Second Series. This may be ordered from the Student Volunteer Movement, price \$1.00.

A .L. Warnshuis,  
Cooperating Secretary,  
Committee of Reference and Counsel.

Occasional Bulletin Issued by the Committee of Reference and Counsel.

April 11, 1927.

THE MISSIONARY SITUATION IN CHINA.

The Board of Foreign Missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church received the following cablegram from Foochow, on April 9th.

"Cradle Chinese Methodism witnessing birth new Church spirit. From turmoil and confusion emerging strong Christian group consciousness, initiative, responsibility, determined resistance to anti-Christian attacks and to communistic organized attempt to force government to confiscate Christian schools. This is followed by determined Christian campaign and parade of over one thousand Christian students who received government and popular approval. Christians heroically, steadfastly enduring persecution. Country evangelistic opportunities unprecedented. Unusual loyalty to missionaries. Chinese earnestly desire closest continued missionary cooperation." Foochow Mission.

Cablegram to China:

The following cablegram was sent to the National Christian Council in Shanghai on April 8th:-

"A special local committee of secretaries of missionary societies in New York City repeat assurances of heartfelt sympathy and confidence unshaken in missionaries, mission councils, and Chinese Christians. We continually remember you in our prayers. April 13th has been appointed a Day of Prayer in America for China. The following suggestions with reference to refugee missionaries are under consideration and are forwarded unofficially in order to ask if careful attention is being given to them. Avoid as much as possible any actions likely to prejudice the question of how long the interruption of missionary work may last. Therefore, the return to the United States of a very large number is undesirable. It has been suggested to us that the missionaries might be concentrated at Tsingtao, or Chefoo, or in Korea, Japan, Philippine Islands, or Malaysia, for temporary mission work, language study in language schools for one or two years if it is absolutely necessary. What are the probabilities of evangelistic missionaries will be able to resume in some places in the near future, even though schools must be suspended temporarily. The general opinion seems to be remain as near China as possible, in order to prepare as well as possible, to return as soon as possible."

Are Missionaries Wanted?

Dr. David Z.T.Yui, in his address to the National Christian Council on October 13, 1926, said:-

"What constitutes the best and highest gift from the Christian Movements of the West to the Christian Movement in China?" We do really appreciate the funds which have been sent over to finance the work; the property in which the Christian Movement has been carrying on; the organization and administration

which has been enabling our Movement to prosecute its work systematically and efficiently; the traditions, customs, dogmas and creeds which have added much to our Christian understanding and experience. All these are important and invaluable. The best and highest gift, we must frankly point out, is the life of the missionary.

"It is true that many a missionary life is not what it ought to be, and hence proves a hindrance rather than a help to our young Christian faith and experience. In addition to ordinary weaknesses of human nature to which we are heir, we should mention the following which often mar and reduce the attractiveness and helpfulness of missionary life:- (a) a superiority complex and hence a determination to dictate and dominate; (b) a tendency or purpose to transfer and perpetuate in China the practices and experiences of the Christian Movements of the West irrespective of the needs over here; (c) too strong nationalism in their attitudes on current questions; and (d) emphasis on external and material things rather than spiritual life.

"The missionary life is the best and highest gift from the Christian Movements of the West to the Christian in China. When freed from the above-mentioned pitfalls, the missionary life, the true Christian life, is not only beautiful, inspiring and helpful to man but also most acceptable and pleasing to God. It is this type of life which more than anything else helps make a reality the fatherhood of God and the saviorhood of Jesus Christ. We do treasure this best and highest of all gifts from the West and plead that this should be made a permanent gift to the Christian Movement in China. Christian missions may terminate before long. It is our sincerest hope that the presence of Christian workers from the other lands, will never be discontinued in the Christian Movement in China."

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Mr. K.C. Li, a prominent Chinese business man in New York City, not a member of a Christian Church, but who has had many opportunities of observing the effects of Christian missions in China, has given us the following answers to these five questions.

1. Are missionaries wanted in China? Answer: "Those who stand for justice, freedom and equality among peoples. YES. Those who can only preach under the protection of Marines, Cold Stream Guards and warships, and not under the teachings of Christ, NO.

2. Do missionaries supply a need among the Chinese people? Answer: "The real teachings of Christ are needed in China; in fact they are needed everywhere today, as I believe the world is very much behind."

3. Have missions in general made any contribution to the welfare, the peace and the happiness of the Chinese people? Answer: "Before 1912 I am afraid my answer is in the negative. Since 1912 I have witnessed a great change and many of the missionaries, and especially Americans, have really contributed to the welfare and the happiness of the Chinese people. This contribution has been successful especially through the medium of the very much beloved Chinese, such as David Yui, and Dr. F.C.Yen."

4. Have missionaries outlived their usefulness? Answer: "They have not and I believe they never will."

5. Should the missionary representatives of the various boards be now withdrawn from China? Answer: "I do not believe they should nor can I see any apprehension for such. The missionaries in China must be firm in their convictions. It is the future and the happiness of mankind that they must consider, not temporary inconveniences they may have, unfortunately been subjected to."

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H.E. The Chinese Minister, Dr. Sao-ke Alfred Sze, in an address in St. Louis on January 15, 1927, said:-

"I want to tell you right here that the Chinese people have no fault to find with the missionaries as a class. We like them and we think they have done a great deal of good. Of course I am not blind to the fact that, in every class of people, you will find some individuals not up to the standard."

The Minister then quoted with approval from the statements of others in support of missionary work.

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President Ray Lyman Wilbur of Stanford University wrote in a recent letter:-

"A prominent Chinese when asked by me the source of the new social activities evident in Chinese life, told me that he could think of no single recent social advance in China which had not had its inception either from a mission or missionary or from some Chinese who had come in contact with Christian influence."

Publicity - Many comments have been made about the despatches of newspaper correspondents in Shanghai. The length of these despatches is remarkable, especially when it is remembered that the cable charges at press rates are 36 cents per word. A careful measurement has shown that in six weeks from January 16th to February 28th a New York daily has printed over 100 columns of cable despatches regarding Chinese affairs. During later weeks an even larger amount of space has been given to such reports.

Unfortunately, in spite of the length of the despatches, they have often been sensational and inaccurate. Attempts have been made in various ways to correct these reports but it is almost impossible to correct a mis-statement by a correspondent in Shanghai, by anything written in New York. For this reason, the following private cablegram was sent on Monday evening, April 4th, to Mr. Lobenstine:-

"Lobenstine unofficial endeavor arrange regular supply impartial news with adequate showing Chinese side using men with news ability like High, Barnett, MacNair, material to be given by them to Associated Press, United Press, Reuters, and other correspondents Shanghai cable us their attitude we are consulting headquarters here."

Copies of this message and explanatory letters were sent to the Managers of the Press Associations in New York. They have informed us that they have cabled instructions to their representatives in Shanghai to cooperate as suggested in the cablegram quoted above.

The first results appeared in the long despatches sent by the Associated Press and several special correspondents printed in the papers on Saturday, April 9th, reporting a conference of missionaries and correspondents in Shanghai. It is hoped that closer relations between the newspaper writers and the mission headquarters will be continued and developed.

A large number of people have expressed appreciation of the despatches sent by Mr. T.F. Millard, during the past year or more, and their regret when these were discontinued. After several discussions with newspaper publishers, it may be of interest to know that the New York World has now arranged with Mr. Millard for the publication of his despatches.

The publicity secretaries of the Boards in New York have been meeting once a week to confer regarding their work with a view to more cooperation and greater effectiveness. Suggestions regarding their work will be welcomed, and will be presented to the group of forwarded to any one of them or to the undersigned.

Some References:-

The Chinese Recorder, February 1927.

The Chinese Christian Appeal to Western Youth, pp88 ff.  
Statements by twenty five Chinese Christians appealing to Western Christian Youth contemplating service in China.

Is there a Place for the Foreign Missionary? by Mrs. Pearl S. Buch,  
pp 100 ff.

A helpful statement of the future service that missionaries may render in China.

The Educational Review, January 1927., published by the China Christian Educational Association.

This number contains important articles with reference to the educational regulations of the Nationalist Government, and a summary of the three principles of Dr. Sun Yat Sen. His will is published on Page 78.

Indemnities:- The Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A. has written under date of April 9th to the Secretary of State, in part, as follows:-

"The Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions has never requested nor accepted indemnity for the death of any missionary and it is fully convinced that in case of Dr. Williams it should adhere to this long-established practice. The board has in mind not only those essential principles which inhere in the motive and aim of missionary service, but also the welfare of the Christian cause in the place where the violence occurs, especially as experience shows that indemnities are usually collected from innocent people in the local community."



# Political Situation

1926 - 27

Not seen by Y.M.C.A.

E.E. Barnett, d. T.  
Chen, J. Z. Koo, George  
Fitch and Paul Meng

SOME TENTATIVE GENERAL IMPRESSIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Based on Visit to Central China, December 13-20, 1926

By E. E. Barnett

I. General:

1. The present movement is, or is rapidly becoming, a real people's Revolution. It is altogether different from the Revolution of 1911 or any of the subsequent so-called revolutions. Those were surface disturbances affecting only a few. This goes much deeper. Those were waves on an inland lake. This is an oncoming sea tide.
2. The main purposes of the present Revolution are such that right-minded persons must sympathize with them. It is reaching out for emancipation: (1) for national freedom; (2) for a government of, for, and by the people; and (3) for economic freedom for the masses.
3. The leaders of the present Movement have started something they cannot control. They have unleashed powers, as in the awakened masses, which will almost surely go to excesses. They have stirred desires and aspirations which cannot be satisfied soon. This means a long period of discontent and striving.
4. Foreign powers will have to adjust themselves to the processes of evolution taking place in the life of China, not vice versa. It will do no good to accuse China of international immorality and to try to hold her up by obsolete treaties. These treaties are unfair and they hold China up in her development. If no other way appears for getting the treaties revised China will cut the Gordian knot by ignoring them. Any other nation would do the same if similarly placed.
5. The New Regime is not afraid of foreign force. It has discovered in the boycott and strike a method of warfare which even an unarmed nation can wage with deadly effectiveness. Armed intervention by foreign forces would defeat the object of intervention: that is, it would make impossible the continuance of trade and other relations which intervention would be insisting on! What Turkey and Russia have done China can do in getting rid of international arrangements distasteful to her.
6. Russia has played her hand in China with consummate skill. By revoking the unequal treaties and treating China as an equal, she has commended herself to Young China as its only friend. The other Powers have in the de facto government in Peking backed the wrong horse. They appear as supporting the forces of darkness and reaction from selfish, mercenary motives. It will take time, sincere dealings, sympathetic understanding, and all sorts of skill to retrieve their present embarrassed position vis a vis China.
7. The present People's Revolution is a minority movement, as every such movement in history has been. It is, however, an intelligent, patriotic, and powerful minority and it is

gathering the masses rapidly to its support.

8. One feels in the Revolutionary Leaders the force of an almost religious faith and passion. Sun Yat Sen is practically worshipped. His words are words of scripture. This sort of spirit has drive, it is contagious, it makes men willing to die: it may of course be cooled, even lost, but until then it cannot be defeated by outside forces.

## II. The Peoples Revolution and the Christian Movement:

1. As Christians come to understand the main ideals and purposes of the Revolution they will find themselves in sympathy with them. As Chinese they will feel that they must join this movement for the redemption and regeneration of their country.
2. Unfortunately there is an element in the Revolutionary party which is hostile to Christianity. Their opposition is based on their assertion that (a) Christianity is a relic of obsolete superstition and is an obstacle therefore to progress which depends entirely on science, and (b) that Christianity in China is an instrument of cultural exploitation, denationalizing the people, and the vanguard of political and economic imperialism.
3. Though in the minority, this anti-Christian Communistic Left Wing of the Party exerts great power and in places is in control of the Party. Wherever it has a majority in the membership of a provincial, city, or district (neighborhood) Party Committee, it is likely to take the law into its own hands, attacking individual Christians and Christian institutions. This minority group now controls the Propoganda Department of the People's Army.
4. -There is danger that the principle of religious liberty may be revoked. This will probably be done if the Left Wing gains control of the Central Government. This they have not yet done. The Central Government and the Army are under the almost absolute control of General Chiang Kai Shek who is more in sympathy with the Right than with the Left Wing.
5. Feng Yu-hsiang's "Christian Army" is another safeguard against anti-Christian measures by the Government. The Central Government has instructed the Propoganda Bureau to let the religious faith of Feng's Army alone.
6. Christian find themselves in an awkward dilemma. (1) To stay out of the Party classifies one as against the Revolution and for the militarists and imperialists. (2) To enter the Party may mean joining a unit in the Party organization which is anti-Christian. The issue with thoughtful Christian leaders in Wuhan has resolved itself into this: how can we as Christians identify ourselves with the People's Revolution without compromising or repudiating our Christian loyalty.
7. Chinese Christians must be freed to follow their own conscience and judgment in working out a solution to this problem. An

effort by missionaries to control and decide what shall and shall not be done will (a) stigmatize the Chinese Christians as "foreign dogs" in the eyes of outsiders, and will (b) lead to inevitable schism between Chinese and foreigners in the Christian body.

8. The main problem of the Christian Church is not that of how it can escape the storm which has broken upon it, but rather how it can purify its own life and make its practises more consistent with its own ideals. Christian leaders in the New Government are saying that a Martin Luther is needed. Christian and some non-Christian leaders are saying that the Christian Movement should be the best ally of this People's Revolution working for the salvation of China.
9. Clear thinking on the problem of the relation between Christianity and politics is required. The old ready formulae will not satisfy.
10. Those who regard Christianity as a way of life will feel that it cannot say it has no relation to this great living Movement, the People's Revolution. At the same time, one's personal conviction is that the organizations of Christianity cannot best serve either this Movement or the more abiding purposes of Christianity itself by converting themselves into branches of the Party Organization. Individual Christians will have an easier problem in determining their individual course of action.

### III. The Y. M. C. A. and the People's Revolution:

1. The Y. M. C. A. will have to face searching criticism. Some say that:-
  - a. As a religious organization it is anti-revolutionary and reactionary.
  - b. It depends on the rich and powerful for its support and that "it must sing the song of him whose bread it eats." (our old stand-in with officials, or "militarists", condemns us or at least places us in a compromised position).
  - c. It calls itself a young men's association but it is a movement for young men (perhaps) but not of them. Its atmosphere is that of the "evening twilight" therefore and not that of the "dawn".
2. The Y. M. C. A. will also have to meet active opposition:-
  - a. Men will be forbidden to join it, as in Changsha and Wuhan already. Some men will have to choose between the Y.M.C.A. and the Party and will prefer the Party.
  - b. Men will be influenced to withhold financial support, as in Changsha and Wuhan in the recent campaigns in these two cities. Men will have to have a deep loyalty to the Association to give money to its support.
  - c. Y. M. C. A. schools will be closed, or greatly embarrassed.
  - d. The Y. M. C. A. Will be the object of hostile propaganda.
  - e. In places the Y. M. C. A. program may be actively interfered with.

3. What should the Y. M. C. A. do about it? I shall mention only a few suggestions.
- a. It should apply rigorously the principle of selection in determining its program. The program of work will have to be contracted and only those things should be undertaken which are most timely and of most vital importance. Time should not be frittered away on unimportant enterprises.
  - b. Intensive work should be done in building up an "inner circle" membership. This membership may be small but it should be real. It should know why it belongs to the Y. M. C. A. and should believe in it so strongly as to stand by it unshaken in spite of storm and stress.
  - c. Budgets will in many cases have to be reduced. Less reliance must be placed upon large contributions, especially of officials. We shall probably be able to raise less money for several years than in the past. We should start at once cutting our garments to fit the cloth available.
  - d. In reducing staffs care should be exercised to retain men of intellectual, social, and religious leadership, not only men who can do things they are told to do nor men of stereotyped mind who are unable to see fresh tasks and new ways of doing them.
  - e. Religious work among our Christian members should be stressed. Never before have we had such a good opportunity to serve true Christianity in China. Criticism must be met with self-criticism. Self-criticism must be followed by repentance. Repentance must bear fruit in clearer understanding, deeper loyalty, and more devoted living among Christians. Every Association should be fostering in its city a fellowship of Christians banded together for study, self-examination, meditation and prayer, and for a united quest for a more Christ-like life.
  - f. Our citizenship program should be pushed with all possible vigor. Fortunately this is already a part of our accepted program. To start such work now would have seemed to be a mere tactical adjustment to possible opposition, rather than a free and sincere effort to make our contribution to the greatest need of the People's Revolution, viz: an enlightened citizenship. In addition to text books published by ourselves we might use texts prepared by others, notably Sun Yat Sen's Three People's Principles.

A FEW MISCELLANEOUS JOTTINGS

Hankow, Dec. 6-19 1926

Russian influence: Borodin's prominence in the new regime is striking. I saw a great banner thirty or forty feet long spanning a street and bidding Borodin welcome. He makes the principal speeches in mass meetings and is given the place of honor in receptions, parades, etc. This is only Chinese courtesy extended an honored guest, I was told. Sun Yat Sen was quoted as saying, "We treat Russia as a friend because Russia treats us as a friend. Any nation which treats China as an equal we will treat in the same way. Any nation which treats China as an unequal will be treated by China in the same way." Both Feng Yu-hsiang and Chiang Kai-shek are said to say: Use Russia, Control Russia.

Foreign Policy: The foreign policy of the New Government vis a vis several important countries was explained to me as follows. (1) England -- Fight! (2) Japan -- Let her alone! (3) America -- Remain receptive to her friendly advances! (4) Russia -- Cooperate!

Too rapid expansion: Is the Southern Party extending its domains too rapidly. Its leaders have won a great deal of confidence for themselves as patriotic, self-sacrificing, and efficient. But after all, the number of these men is small and their territories are broad and daily growing broader. Moreover, in arousing the masses they are unleashing a power which has already passed in many cases beyond their control. What will the outcome be?

The unequal treaties: I get the impression that if the Southern Government continues its successes and gets control of the country it will make short shrift of the unequal treaties. It will not dilly-dally, making all of its desires contingent on the convenience of the Foreign Powers. The Foreign Powers will find themselves having to make the adjustments required. The example of Turkey and Russia is too patent. The power of the boycott and strike is too well proved. The unwillingness of the Foreign Powers to press their demands to the point of intervention (whereby they would lose entirely that for which they would be intervening!) is too well understood by the Southern leaders. How moderate and reasonable the New Government will be will depend largely upon how soon the Foreign Powers fully awake and how gracefully they climb down from a position they will never be able to assume again in their policies vis a vis China.

The Model Settlement: The ex-Russian Concession is now called the Special Administrative District Number 2. It is controlled by a Council elected by the rate-payers. The Council is composed of 3 Chinese and 3 foreign members. There is a director appointed by the provincial government. Bills are paid by checks signed by the directors and counter-signed by two treasurers, one Chinese and one foreigner. This plan has been going for two years and is regarded as successful.

Wang K'ai-hua: Former student secretary at Wuchang. Has just returned from three years study in Tubingen University, Germany. On the staff of the Propaganda Bureau of the Southern government. He says it is only the Communistic Left Wing of the Kuomintang which is anti-Christian. He says, though, that some missionaries put their country above their religion.

Timothy Jen on anti-Christian Movement: Its causes: (1) Christianity was brought to China by foreigners. (2) Toleration Clauses. (3) Missionaries are made use of by their governments. Reported cases by a Yenching Theological graduate now in England. (4) Infringement on educational rights of China. (5) Individualistic, other worldly gospel.

1911 and 1926: There is all the difference in the world in the "feel of the atmosphere" in the present revolution and the so-called revolution of 1911. The present movement is an oceanic ground swell, not a surface disturbance, and a good deal -- good and bad, one imagines -- will be swept away by its oncoming tide.

THE MANIFESTO OF THE CHRISTIANS  
OF WUHAN

(A Suggested Draft)

Fellow Christians of the Whole Nation!

We are all a part of the nation of the Chinese Republic. Owing to the dissatisfaction concerning the old traditional ethics, we have become followers of Christianity. But, as it was transplanted from other nations, and unfortunately it has, in its history, become identified with imperialists, much misunderstanding has developed. Now, as we stand under the flag of "Blue Sky and White Sun" as a free people, we are no longer oppressed by the old conception which insisted that the Church should have nothing to do with politics, and we have come to realize our duty in the big mission before us for the salvation of our nation. We therefore beg to clearly express our attitude in the following:

We believe that the National Revolution under the leadership of the Kuomintang, is an immense moral force which stands for the salvation of our country and our people. For this reason, we, as a whole, support the Nationalist Government, assist the National Revolutionary Army, and believe that the "Three People's Principles", the "Outline for the Development of China", and the internal and foreign policy and program of the Kuomintang Party present the only scheme for the emancipation of our people and the salvation of our nation. We also volunteer to participate in the People's Revolutionary Movement, for which we will work hard, externally to overthrow imperialism in order to build up an equal and independent nation on the earth; internally to overthrow militarism and a bad system of government, to better the living conditions of farmers and laborers, and to construct a just and progressive social order in which every individual may enjoy a living with plenty to eat and enough to wear; and for the final goal of world-wide revolution, and the equality of all human beings.

Jesus founded His religion on the spirit of liberty, love, sacrifice, and service; struggled against the force of sin, and was never willing to compromise. Originally He was a great revolutionary force. In the past not a few of our fellow Christians devoted their lives to revolutionary work; some of them initiated the movement, and others sacrificed their lives for the cause; and even now we have no small number of Christians who are either leaders in the Nationalist Government or officers in the army or connected with other lines of revolutionary work. We recognize them as the best example of real Christians. As we remember these forerunners, we become bolder and braver and try harder to carry out our duty for the salvation of our nation. We wish most earnestly to participate in the Revolutionary Movement in accordance with the revolutionary spirit of Christ, who overthrew Phariseism, the traditional ethics, the nobility who oppressed the common people, and finally gave up His life on the cross.

We are also conscious of the fact that imperialism is not only the worst enemy of our people and our country, but is also the worst enemy of Christianity. History shows that it has oftentimes utilized



the Church to increase its power and force. When Christianity was awake to start a revolution it was always crushed and oppressed. For instance the attempts that were made to prevent Morrison from coming to China to preach, and recently, the persecution by the imperialists of some open-minded missionaries because they expressed sympathy with the emancipation movement of the Chinese. The British Government will not allow Christian literature to enter Hong Kong because it stands for the emancipation of the Chinese people and the overthrow of imperialism. Most recently Christianity and its work became the target of open attack by the imperialists in their homelands on the ground that the Church furnished the dynamic of anti-imperialism and of the movement of revolution in China. This shows that imperialism, both in its nature and history, is fundamentally out of harmony with Christianity and is therefore our worst enemy. Christianity, as well as the landless classes and the weaker nations of the world, is the slave of imperialism. Now we all stand up with a firm resolution to overthrow this master. We are struggling not only for the emancipation of our people, but also for the emancipation of our religion.

We are very happy to know that the National Christian Council has passed a resolution in favor of the abolition of the "unequal treaties". We as a whole support this resolution. We don't want Christianity to be built on the foundation of the gunboat policy. Neither do we wish to see the spreading of the Gospel dependent upon the backing of any military force. The nature of the policy of aggression and military force is fundamentally contrary to the principle of Christianity. Christianity can only be built upon the foundation of the morality and personality of its followers and the success of their work in the salvation of the nation and the world; and its strongest backing must be the sacrificial blood of its followers shed for the sake of their religion. Even if we are misunderstood and attacked by others on account of our faith, we would not seek the protection of Christianity from the "unequal treaties" which are capable of overthrowing our country and imperiling our race.

Should there be any foreign missionaries who love their own countries more than they love Christ and who are unwilling to help us in our National Revolution of the moment, we wish them to go back to their own countries as soon as possible. The only thing we can do is to work hard for the independence of the Christian Church so that it may be free from the control of foreigners and may rid itself forever of all relationships with imperialism.

With regard to the question of the rehabilitation of educational rights we as a whole pledge our support and our best efforts for its success. We will bring all Christian schools under the management of the Chinese Christians, subject to the regulations of the Chinese Government., everything concerning the administration and the curricula of these schools to be in accordance with the educational system of the Chinese Government.

Finally we wish to speak a few words in regard to the Anti-Christian Movement which is promoted by some of our fellow countrymen. The make-up and quality of Christianity are very complicated. It cannot help having some reactionary elements. During its history it has acquired certain rituals and forms that are not quite suited to the nature of the Chinese people; and furthermore there are also bad elements in the Church who do not live up to the standard of the Church and who act in ways contrary to the teachings of the Church, thus becoming a disgrace to the whole religion. Meanwhile we admit our weakness and our sins. We also admit that these are the inevitable shortcomings of every big organization. The first thing that Jesus, the Founder of our religion, taught was that we must repent. So we recognize the Anti-Christian Movement to be our candid friend. With regard to their criticism we hold the spirit of an ancient teacher who said, "If you have blundered you must repent; if you have not blundered you must try harder". We are closely watched by those outside. Inside the Church we are prompted by a desire to save the nation and the world. We will bend every effort to work for the reformation of Christianity. On the negative side we will improve the ritual, theology, organization and methods of the Church; on the positive side we will make our religion a religion which is suitable to the spirit of our nation and the lives of our people. At the same time we will do our best to preserve religious liberty. We will never give up the faith which gave us peace of heart and the courage of life no matter what oppression or persecution comes from military powers or political authorities. We wish to be like Cromwell who saved his nation through his religion. We will never be like Judas who betrayed his Lord for his own benefit.

(Issued Christmas, 1926. Passed by the Censorship Committee, December 27th. Passed by the Continuation Committee, December 28th. Translated from the Chinese.)

L. T. CHEN

YMCA

Since the dawn of the present century, China's single and persistent desire has been to modernize and to fit herself for her rightful place in the family of nations. / In her early contacts with the west she was proud, and stubbornly maintained her customary sense of superiority. She was the Middle Kingdom, her court the Heavenly court and her people were Heaven's favored children. Her only way of dealing with other countries was to regard them as tributary states lacking in civilization if not indeed actually barbarous. This had been the understanding and practice in her foreign relations since history began and there seemed to be no reason conceivable why it should be modified. She was the center of civilization, and no nation of equal culture and development had been known to her. This position, however, was challenged in the nineteenth century and in a series of military conflicts extending from 1836 to 1900 she found herself confronted with a new situation and realized that not only the new arrivals on the scene were not inferior but, much to her amazement, possessed a power which she herself lacked. The lesson was driven home especially by what Japan, which had always acknowledged China's superior strength and culture, was able to do after sitting at the feet of the European countries for she not only successfully defeated China (1895), but later actually proved her superior strength over Russia, a western power (1904). Awakened from the lethargy of content and complacency she immediately gave herself to a feverish campaign of reforms, hoping to make up for lost time.

The first sign of her regeneration was the effort initiated by Kang Yu-wei and Liang Chi-chao in 1898, but it was frustrated and nipped in the bud. For over a decade thereafter these men lived as exiles, from their place of refuge keeping alive a constant stream of literature which served to instill life into the awakening minds of new China. The pen of the latter was especially prolific and his influence captivating. The seed was sown and time alone would see its fruition.

After the Russo-Japanese war (1904) things began to happen in rapid succession, and as the events ran their course they gathered momentum, until like the turbulent currents of a swift stream they mercilessly swept everything before them. By an Imperial decree the age-long system of Civil Examinations which gave the incentive and upheld the respect for learning for 2,000 years was abolished. In its place a chain of modern schools were introduced. At the recommendation of a special commission sent by the Imperial Government to study political methods and institutions in Europe and America a constitution was promised and immediate steps were taken to prepare for the formation of a National Assembly in five years (1914). Foreign capital was invited to exploit China's natural resources, railway construction was accelerated, newspapers sprang into existence and modern printing was introduced. Old traditions were dismantled and new standards were installed. All these took place in the brief space of a little over ten years, culminating in a revolution in 1911 which turned the oldest empire into the youngest republic in the world! A kaleidoscopic spectacle presented itself and China inevitably found herself in the midst of chaos and confusion and yet she wanted to be like others, cost what it may.

In this mad process of modernization two contending forces developed side by side, namely, militarism and the people's will, the former

personified by Yuan Shih Kai and the latter by Sun Yat Sen. The contest of these two forces is the real explanation of the vast drama which we witness today. Yuan Shih Kai believed that what held China down was the lack of military prowess. A strong army and navy would enable China to assert herself and compel the respect of the rest of the world. Sun Yat Sen on the other hand pinned his hope for the future of China in the uplift and enlightenment of the masses. The former worked for a strong soldiery and built up a "model army"; the latter devoted his energies to the revolutionizing of the social as well as political structure of the country. The clash occurred when the Manchurian regime was overthrown and China faced the task of reconstruction. Yuan Shih Kai gained the upper hand and proceeded to institute his system of government based on military control. The country was administered under the rule of military governors (tuchuns) with final authority in himself as dictator. So long as his personal prestige lasted the machinery went well and gratifying results were obtained. But when he met his tragic end his organization collapsed and his lieutenants ran wild with selfish ambition. Intrigues, self-aggrandizement and plotting against one another were the order of the day. As none was strong enough to command the respect of all his colleagues, no man emerged powerful enough to unite the country under one control. The history of the Chinese Republic so far has painfully demonstrated the futility of militarism as a means to unify China and to realize her fond hopes in international relations.

It is then no exaggeration to say that militarism has had its chance and has proved itself an unmistakable failure. Furthermore, it has delayed the purpose of the Revolution of 1911 and has impeded the progress of China on the road of political modernization. Militarism has totally discredited itself and is now rapidly digging its own grave.

No sooner had Yuan Shih Kai set up his machinery and ruled with an iron rod than did Sun Yat Sen see that the task initiated by the Revolution of 1911 had been entrusted to wrong hands and the malady was developing from bad to worse. Immediate steps were taken to set up a new machinery to counteract and, if possible, to hold in check the baneful influence of Yuan's camp. After many vicissitudes of fortune a base of operation was finally secured in Canton in 1920 where Dr. Sun reorganized his forces in order to push to the finish the noble start made nine years before. He died before there was time for final success, but a new leader appeared in Chiang Kai Shih, who stepped into the harness and took up the task where Dr. Sun left it. With him as generalissimo the Revolutionary army finally began its long postponed northern expedition last September. It swept everything before it and achieved the signal success of victoriously marching through Hupoh and Hunan, entering the strategic point of the Wuhan cities in less than three months, where the first shot of the Revolution in 1911 had been fired. Quickly following this, came the victory in the provinces of Kiangse and Fukien, resulting in the firm establishment of the Revolutionary Army in five contiguous provinces in South China. At the time of writing the province of Chekiang is threatened with Kiangsu following in its course.

The significant thing of this new movement is, that military strength is the least important of its weapons. Public opinion is by far the decisive factor. The Revolutionary army has been welcomed into the places they now hold rather than having won them on the field of battle. A

moral victory has preceded the military conquest at every turn. Truly it has been a "People's Revolution."

At this point one might gain by pausing a moment to inquire into the cause of this strange phenomenon. Is the easy victory accounted for by betrayal and acts of treason and disloyalty as many would have us believe, or are there deeper reasons than that? Disloyalty, indeed, is a common frame of mind in the camp of the militarists and betrayals have been common, but might one ask what is there to which one could be loyal among the contending generals? Can any one be justifiably accused of treason? Is there any principle to fight for, or any worthy cause to die for? What is there to inspire one's loyalty and stir up one's soul? To all these one finds an invariable NO. Is it any wonder then that whole legions are vanquished by the Revolutionary forces and general after general seeks to capitulate and lay down his arms? On the other hand, we find in the opposing camp of the Canton forces young men fired with enthusiasm and vibrant with patriotism. They know what they are fighting for and believe it to be the only way to the ultimate goal of placing their country where she belongs. They are possessed with nothing less than a religious fervor and they wage their battles as in a crusade.

Furthermore during the agonizing years between the first shot fired in Wuchang (1911) and the recapture of that city today vast changes have taken place in the hearts of thinking people of the whole nation. A new spirit has been born; a new zeal has been awakened. That which welds the British together, which unites the French and which gives pride to every American for his citizenship has also seized the Chinese. For the first time in history they feel as one, think as one and want to live and die as one. They form one nation, live under one flag, and are united as one coherent race to serve their country and to make their special contribution to the world. They are proud of their past and look forward to a more glorious future, enriched by the new influences with which they have come into contact. Gone is old China's civic inactivity, gone also the lack of cohesion among its people.

Under the inspiration of this Nationalism, young China sets its face against militarism and the bondage of unequal treaties, particularly the latter as they are the source of many of China's sufferings in international relations. By virtue of his extraterritorial rights a foreigner is not only beyond the reach of Chinese law but is practically immune to the justice of any law. Unscrupulous scoundrels can do whatever they please in China and towards the Chinese and apparently escape the consequence. Under the protection of tariff control, the foreign business man has an undue advantage over his Chinese competitor, and a foreign industry can undercut a Chinese. Foreign gun boats ply up and down China's coast and have free passage in China's rivers. In effect, these and other rights conferred by the Treaties make the foreigner in China nothing less than a demi-god. He knows it, and, consciously or unconsciously, conducts himself with an air of superiority and an attitude of contempt towards his Chinese neighbors. Antagonism develops where friendship should result. These are the underlying factors in a movement which has come to be known as anti-foreign. In effect, it is nothing more or less than a rightful assertion of an individual's dignity and an effort to recover a nation's legitimate rights.

The People's revolution, therefore, is at once the cause as well as

the effect of this patriotic movement. Its objective can be summed up in one sentence: the liberation of China and its people from militaristic and foreign domination. It seeks to unify China under a really democratic government and to break down her bondage of unjust treaty limitations. They are the natural desires of every patriotic Chinese. Young men, especially students, from all parts of the country, are joining the ranks of the new forces and it is not strange that wherever they go their cause meets with welcome and spontaneous response. It is furthermore not strange that opposition seems to fade away in face of their buoyant spirit. The real revolution of the people is at hand. It strikes a sympathetic chord in every heart. It is the beginning of the realization of China's fondest hope.

This revolution is under the direction of the Kuo Min Tang, meaning "the people's party," which is the only organized body in politics in China today which has the semblance of a political party. Its founder is Dr. Sun Yat Sen and it includes in its ranks men from all sections of the country. Its principles are clearly laid out in the founder's "Principle of Three-people" which includes (1) People's Nationalism (2) People's Rights and (3) People's livelihood. The first postulate emphasizes the importance of the national consciousness of the people as essential to the upbuilding of a strong nation. The second expounds in his own way the principle of "a government of the people, by the people and for the people." The third advocates an economic order based on the single tax and the nationalization of the unearned increments. Let it be noted that Dr. Sun criticises the Marxian principle and advocates only a modified form of state socialism.

This platform ought to be sufficient to dispell any suspicion or fear that the Kuo Min Tang is "red" or an instrument of Sovietism. The Kuo Min Tang's purpose is revolution and it is the revolutionary spirit of Russia that appealed to Dr. Sun. In admiration of that spirit the Kuo Min Tang admitted the Communistic party. Neither the Kuo Min Tang nor any of the Russian advisers in it claim that the experiment of communism in Russia has been a success. Even Borodin himself disavows any intention of introducing communism into China. What Russia has great influence in the party is true but she has gained that influence only as a result of her respect, sympathy and friendship for China and its people. The Kuo Min Tang Party, according to its founder and present day leaders, is ready to enter into similar relationships with any other country which takes the same attitude towards China. Furthermore, we ought to be reminded that the friendship with Russia was struck only after Canton's appeal for friendly help had been spurned by England, America and Japan in turn. Russia came to her succor and a friend in need is a friend indeed. Their ultimate purposes may differ, but their immediate strategies seem to coincide, and for the time being they are cooperating to mutual advantage.

I have attempted to point out that China has for over two decades addressed herself relentlessly to the task which her critics have been loud in accusing her of not doing. Can we say that China is not in earnest about setting her house in order when she has literally cast away everything she formerly possessed in order to transform herself into a modern nation? If she has erred at all it is rather on the side of undervaluing her own assets. Her educational institutions, her political system, her legal standards and what not have all been submitted to the

baptism of modernism. After she has given up all in order to learn everything anew, is it willful injustice or a misconstruance of historical facts which underlies the indictment that she has not attempted to lift herself to modern standards? So far the endeavor has been entirely one way, China trying to meet western standards; one would now feel that the time is long overdue for western countries to go out of their way to meet China.



FOREIGN YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

Shanghai, China

GEORGE A. FITCH

3 Peking Road,  
February 17, 1927.

Dear Friends,

The attached picture shows one mile of Shanghai's ten-mile river front. This, with the area back of it, is the heart of the business section. The picture would have to be extended many times to show the great factories and docks and shipbuilding works, the boats from almost every nation, and the battle-ships of the foreign powers in imposing array. Shanghai is the second or third largest port in the world from the point of tonnage cleared. Its present population is nearly two million.

One mile straight back from the center of this picture, on the main artery east and west, the new Foreign Y. M. C. A. is nearing completion. Its nine stories up, it will be another ten months before the building is ready for occupation. It faces the Public Recreation Ground, where tennis, golf, baseball, football, polo, cricket, riding are all available,--a perfect athletic field, practically for the asking.

Present events serve to emphasize more than ever before the imperative need for this building and its program. If only those who represent America and Great Britain in China had come to know China and the Chinese better, there would have been more mutual respect and appreciation, and the present sad state of affairs in our relationships would never have occurred. My hope is that this splendid building will not only serve as a home for our young men who are so far from their homes and home influences, but will also help to create an atmosphere of greater friendliness and understanding between them and the people of the orient, making them ambassadors of good-will and peace from the West to the East.

Just now there is much speculation as to what is to become of this great city of Shanghai. Will the Hankow situation be repeated here? Twenty thousand British troops are on their way from England to protect Shanghai. The other day several hundred Punjabis (North India) arrived from Hongkong and marched through the streets to their brass band and bagpipes. These are in addition to the very efficient Shanghai Volunteer Corps of two thousand and several thousand marines and sailors. The coming of these men hardly serves to make the Chinese more friendly in their attitude to the foreigner! Both the Nationalists and the Northerners have expressed their strong disapprobation.

It is for the protection of the lives of foreigners, of course: but how often have foreign lives been in serious danger, and would not the present forces be quite adequate? Not one foreign life was lost in the taking over of the Hankow concession and only one (a sick lady who died of fright more than anything else) in Kiukiang. Things have not been exactly comfortable, especially for the British, where the Southerners have come in, and in places it has been best for them to leave. A few have been pretty roughly handled and there have been a number of narrow escapes. But we must not forget that this is civil war.

And it is not only civil war: it is the French Revolution, the industrial revolution and the Renaissance, all taking place at one and the same time. One must reread Dickens' Tale of Two Cities and Carlyle's French Revolution if he would really sense the situation we are in in China today. The extraordinary thing is that foreigners have not suffered more than they have, especially those who have been unsympathetic to the nationalistic aspirations. Unfortunately, most foreign-



ers seem quite unable to place themselves in the position of the patriotic Chinese or to sense the fundamental issues of this time.

One of the things which have been taking not a little of my time lately is the arranging of small informal conferences of Chinese and foreigners--chairmen of chambers of commerce, officials, and other prominent men,--in an effort to bring about better understanding and perhaps arrive at some plan of cooperation for the preservation of friendliness and order in the possible event of the taking of Shanghai by the Southern forces. Some groups have been international--Chinese, Japanese, Britishers, Americans,--others just Sino-American or Sino-British. But it is difficult to say whether or not anything of very great value has been accomplished so far. The ignorance of the average foreigner concerning the Chinese people and things Chinese is nothing short of appalling. Ignorance breeds distrust and fear: consequently the fifty thousand foreigners in this city are not only apprehensive but many of them panicky at the impending arrival of the Nationalists. Consequently, too, the nine members of the Shanghai Municipal Council (6 British, 2 American, 1 Japanese), backed by the vast majority of their fellow nationals, are prepared to fight to the last ditch the Chinese demands for equal representation in the government of this city, such as has just been granted in the Hankow British concession.

All these years it has been a case of "taxation without representation" as far as the Chinese in this international settlement are concerned. They are now only asking for what would seem to be their just rights, aside from any consideration of the fact that this foreign-governed settlement is after all Chinese soil. And I would venture the assumption that the nine men whom the Chinese have just appointed to a Provisional Council are equal, some of them superior, in ability and character, to the nine members of the present all-foreign Council. Yet instead of giving them welcome and place on the Council, and doing all within their power to create an atmosphere of friendliness and confidence, they are slighted, even insulted, in the foreign daily press, more troops are landed (several companies of British bluejackets and marines with two brass bands playing march past my window as I write), and a display of force is made. What could be better suited to drive them into the arms of the friendly Russian Reds or make for more vigorous boycotts?

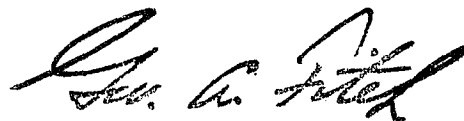
To attempt an analysis of the national situation would take more time and space than I can give here. Mr. T. Z. Koo, of our National Committee, speaks of two developments going on: the fundamental process of nation-making, and the particular manifestations of this process. The first means a revolution in the people's political thinking, an unfolding in China's national life, and will not be complete until this change in their political ideals and ideas has permeated the mass of China's four hundred millions. This will take at least another decade. The second refers to incidents and personalities--the Washington Conference agitations, the May 30th shooting affair, the Japanese and British boycotts, the Northern Drive, Chiang Kai-Shek, Chang Tso Lin, Wu Pei Fu, etc.,--all of which are whirl-pools and eddies appearing on the main stream, transient and incidental. The process of nation-making is the main stream, permanent and irresistible in its onward sweep. We must not fall into the error of accepting the particular manifestations as the whole development. Today, Mr. Koo says, "the militarists are held in universal execration, while the nationalists, or Kuo Ming Tang, with their communistic left wing and all, are hailed

as the savior of China. From this it ought to be clear to us that persons and organizations in China today suspected by the people of blocking the free development of this fundamental process will have their usefulness seriously affected and even their continued existence threatened. The same would be true of governments and nations."

You have heard the anti-Christian movement coupled with the nationalist. Christian institutions are attacked as the agents of foreign exploitation in China because of the foreign nature of their organization, personnel and support. The communist attacks the church as the instrument of capitalism; the atheist as an outworn institution, a relic of superstition and an opponent of human progress; the man on the street because she does not practise what she preaches. And yet Mr. Koo concludes: "There never was a time in China when people's hearts were bounding with more hope than today. For the first time in the last fifteen years, glimmerings of a possible solution to our problem are visible on the horizon..... Expectancy and hope are in the air, and a forward move is now possible."

Dr. Fong F. Sec, chairman of our National Committee and one of China's most able Christian men, says, "The present appears to be a dark hour for the Christian Movement in China. Yet I believe this is only a passing phase. I think our people, on the whole, are too level-headed to remain long under the radical influences from the outside and may be trusted to regain their balance in time. During this time of great upheaval and sweeping changes, when the minds of our young men are swayed by the tide of nationalism, we need the stabilising power of Christianity as never before to guide our thinking and give fiber to our moral and spiritual life. The Young Men's Christian Association has been of untold blessing to hundreds of thousands of us in our fight for character. In this trying hour we need the material and moral support of Christians of Western lands. This is not the time for them to withdraw their support. For them to do so, it seems to me, is to desert the cause of Christ at a very critical moment."

Faithfully yours,



Confidential - Not to be reprinted.

"NATION-MAKING IN CHINA"

T. Z. KOO

Events of the greatest significance are happening in China today in such rapid succession that people are becoming obsessed with a sense of bewilderment when they try to follow the ever-changing situation. The following paragraphs are written in the hope that they will help those interested in China's welfare to reach a clearer conception of what is really taking place in our country.

I. The First Fifteen Years:

Our understanding of the present situation in China will be greatly helped when we have grasped the historical significance of the first ~~xxx~~ fifteen years in the life of the young Republic. Briefly summarised, three distinct periods are noticeable in these fifteen years.

A. The First Period. When the Manchus abdicated in 1911 after a short struggle with the Revolutionary Party, the Republic of China was proclaimed with Dr. Sun Yat-Sen as the first President in Nanking. This event was hailed all over the country with great rejoicing as heralding the dawn of the democratic era in old Cathay. But the high hopes entertained then were not fulfilled. On the advice of his followers but against his own conviction, Dr. Sun yielded his Presidency to Yuan Shih Kai in 1912. By this action, the real revolution suffered a setback the effect of which has taken us all these fifteen years to overcome.

Dr. Sun <sup>was</sup> persuaded to relinquish the Presidency in favor of Yuan Shih Kai on the ground that the Revolution, having achieved its purpose in the abdication of the Manchu dynasty, now needed a man of proved administrative ability and experience to build up the new Republic. By common consent that man was Yuan Shih Kai rather than Sun Yat-Sen. Many, even among his own followers, thought so and so Dr. Sun retired and Yuan Shih Kai became President.

What we were too blind to see at the time was that Dr. Sun, however inexperienced in political administration he might be, nevertheless was the product of the Revolution and did represent in his person the Spirit of Progressive China. With him as President, real changes in the political thought and life of the Chinese people would have been possible, because, in the eyes of the people, he would stand out in bold relief as a definite break with the past.

Yuan Shih Kai, on the other hand, while a great and able administrator, was the product of the Imperial System and typified in his person the Spirit of the Status Quo. As soon as he took over the Presidency, all those among our people who were not prepared to pay the cost for real change, heaved a sigh of relief, for they now felt assured that the old order would remain. And they were right. The old order did remain all these fifteen years in spite of the Revolution.

The first period is, therefore, a brief one beginning and ending with Dr. Sun's first Presidency. Although brief, no single event in the early history of the Republic has had more to do in shaping the destiny of the nation than this relinquishment of the Presidency by Dr. Sun Yat-Sen in 1912.

B. The Second Period. This period of four years from 1913-1916 was centered round Yuan Shih Kai. As soon as he took over the presidency, he immediately began, with consummate skill, to consolidate his own position. Yuan accomplished this by placing his own most trusted generals as governors of the most important provinces of China. This process went on until 1916 when he felt himself strong enough to declare a new monarchy for China under the title of Hung Hsien with himself as the first emperor. In doing this, however, Yuan Shih Kai over-reached himself and his carefully laid plans of several years collapsed around him like a house of cards. This period closed with his death.

C. The Third Period. The next period of ten years from 1916-1925 was characterized by a series of internal wars. The generals appointed by Yuan Shih Kai began to fight among themselves for wealth and power soon after his death. It was in this period that the great militarist factions like the Anfu Clique, the Chihli Party and the Moukden Party rose to struggle against each other for supremacy.

The net result in this period of internal strife was the breakdown of the authority of the Central Government. Peking became the political prize for each militarist faction as it rose in power. Instead of a national government, Peking became the property of the dominant military faction. In that sense, China has not had a central government for the last decade.

## II. The Rise of the Nationalist Movement:

But all through these fifteen years, while Yuan Shih Kai was busy maturing his plans for the monarchy and while his generals after him were carrying on that senseless series of internal wars, a strong undercurrent of a totally different nature was slowly gathering strength in the nation. Year after year, the people have watched and suffered with what was to the Western mind, incredible apathy, the gross mismanagement of the affairs of their own nation, both internally and externally. These years of political turmoil, however, were not suffered in vain. For slowly through these years it was borne upon the consciousness of the people that unless they began to express some interest and to demand a share in the government of their nation, the state of affairs was not going to improve. It was this awakening which laid the foundation for the present nationalist movement.

Three fairly distinct stages in this awakening can be traced. During the earlier years of the Republic up to 1919, the awakening was confined largely to the student and more intelligent merchant classes of China. The high points in this period which focussed attention and roused feeling in a national way were the Twenty-one demands of Japan and the Versailles Peace Treaty. While the central government remained powerless on both occasions, the students and merchants of the country combined in an economic boycott of Japan as a protest against the Twenty-one Demands and in a national strike to compel our peace delegation in Paris to withdraw from the Conference as a protest against the settlement of the Shantung question.

From 1919 to 1925, the awakening entered its second stage when the laboring classes of China were reached. Beginning from South China, the tide of nationalism swept steadily northward through the ranks of labor. From an incoherent mass, labor in China today has become a powerful group to be reckoned with in any national crisis.

The two events which stood out in this period as rallying points in the consciousness of the people were the Seamen's strike of Hongkong in 1923, and the May 30th Shooting affair of Shanghai in 1925. Both events served to intensify and deepen the already growing national consciousness of the Chinese people, particularly in the ranks of labor.

It was during this period that the Russian influence began to be felt in China. Russia, posing as the only country ready to deal with China as an equal, was welcomed by Dr. Sun and his followers and Russian advisers were appointed to the most important departments in the southern Government. The Russian contribution to the Nationalist cause lies chiefly in adding method and experience in party organization and propaganda to the enthusiasm of the nationalists.

Since May 30th, 1925, the Nationalist awakening reached its third stage, when it entered another stratum of Chinese society, namely the farm hands. During the past year farmers unions sprang up rapidly in South China and the movement promises to spread to other provinces whenever they come under the influence of the Nationalist Government. It is yet too early to estimate the power and strength of this group when thoroughly awakened to a sense of nationhood but anyone with even a limited understanding of conditions in China will readily see the vast significance in this stage.

### III. The Kuo Ming Tang and the Nationalist Movement:

The political expression of the Nationalist Movement is the Kuo Ming Tang or Peoples' Party. This party was originally founded by Dr. Sun Yat-Sen as a secret organization under the name of Tung Men Hui for the purpose of overthrowing the Manchu regime. After the establishment of the Republic, the Tung Men Hui was re-organized and became the Kuo Ming Tang. Through thick and thin, this party has tried to preserve the ideals of the Revolution. During the first years of the Republic, it opposed Yuan Shih Kai's efforts to abolish the Parliament and suspend the Constitution. Defeated in this struggle, the leaders went down to Canton and established an independent government from Peking. Through many vicissitudes of fortune, this Government has developed into the present Nationalist Government.

The chief source of strength of the Kuo Ming Tang at the present time lies in the fact that it is the only political party which has even the semblance of a constructive <sup>national</sup> program for the country. Broadly speaking, this program consists of three main sections, namely, the political unification of China under the authority of a nationalist government, the re-adjustment of China's international treaties and the betterment of the condition of hand-workers. With such a program, the Kuo Ming Tang has given voice to the nationalistic sentiment and as a result the Northern Drive succeeded beyond the wildest hopes of its originators. Today, the territory under the control of the Nationalist Government embraces Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Kweichow, Fukien, Hunan, Hupeh, Kiangsi, Shensi and Kansu.

Opposed to the Nationalist Government, we find three military factions. First, and the most powerful, comes the Moukden group under the leadership of Chang Tso Lin which at present controls the Three Eastern Provinces, Ch'ihli and Shantung. Secondly, we have the group under the leadership of Sun Chuan Fang which controls Kiangsu, Chekiang and Anhui. The third group is known as the Chihli Party with General Wu Pei Fu as the leader. This faction has Honan under its control. Outside of these three groups, there are Shansi under Governor Yen and Yunnan under Governor Tang both of whom are maintaining an attitude of watchful waiting. Szechuen is claimed by the Nationalist Government but its real status is still uncertain. Contrasted with the Kuo Ming Tang, these military groups have no program of any kind except unification by military force. They are cordially hated by the people and their elimination is simply a question of time.

IV. The Communists and Kuo Ming Tang:

Ever since the influx of western ideas into China, communism has gained a small band of followers in the ranks of the intelligensia. But the group has remained small and unimportant because of the innate aversion of the Chinese people to radical ideas of social organization. When the Kuo Ming Tang grew in importance and size and in the favor of the people, it led to a desire on the part of the communists to want to throw in their lot with the Kuo Ming Tang, so that under cover of the political influence of the party, they can propagate and put into practice communistic ideas and principles. The Kuo Ming Tang, on the other hand, lacked organization and a passionate purpose and it was felt by the leaders that an influx from the communistic group would be a great asset to their own party machine and spirit. Accordingly, a union of the two was consummated soon after 1921. The division of labor between these two groups seemed to be that the political program of the party is to be in the hands of the Kuo Ming Tang leaders while the propagandist activities are to be in the hands of the communists.

This influx of communistic members into the Kuo Ming Tang has resulted in a sharp division in the rank and file of the party. Those followers of Dr. Sun who are moderates and not sympathetic to communistic ideas are known as the "Rights" while the extremists and communists are known as the "Lefts." Just at present, the lefts are in the ascendancy in the party.

The left wing of the party has gained a strong foothold among students through the student unions and among laborers through the labor unions. It is just beginning to organize the farm workers into unions also. Through these means, the left wing has gained tremendous power in the party and the moderates are powerless to overthrow this group for fear it will so shake and disrupt the whole fabric of the party as to endanger the nationalist movement in China. And so the activities of the left wing are tolerated by the party as a whole and, for the same reason, tolerated by the people at large. It is therefore quite wrong to say that China has become communistic. The real situation is that a communistic wing in the Kuo Ming Tang is at present tolerated for the sake of the larger issue before us, namely, the successful prosecution of the nationalist movement.

V. Some Dangers Confronting the Kuo Ming Tang:

From personal observations made in different parts of China, I see the Kuo Ming Tang facing some very serious problems in its immediate future.

The first and most serious of these problems is the question of how long the temporary alliance between the Kuo Ming Tang and the Communistic party can be maintained. Signs of discontent and rivalry between the two groups are already evident. These, if not smoothed over, will inevitably lead to a split in the party.

Secondly, the party's economic program of workers' control of sources of production and a levy on capital, if carried to the extreme, will lead to such a serious disruption of the economic life of the country that it is more than likely to defeat its own end, the betterment of the working man's economic condition. With this end, most people in China are in sympathy. But there is a law of average in the economic world beyond which one can not go. Once this limit is over-stepped, the economic order breaks down. The mass of hand-workers in China are uneducated people. When drunk with power and dazzled by the alluring prospect of high wages and short working hours, who can say to what lengths they will go?

Thirdly, the Kuo Ming Tang in its anti-religion and anti-Christian propaganda is tampering with men's consciences, always a delicate sphere to meddle in. History has shown us that it is literally true that men have no fear of what kills the body but not the soul when it comes to matters of conscience. The religious forces in any country can develop into a formidable source of opposition to any movement which seriously threatens the liberty of conscience. In attacking religious institutions, I feel the Kuo Ming Tang is embarked on a policy of doubtful wisdom because it is rallying against itself ~~as~~ a considerable body of moderate opinion which would otherwise heartily support the party's program.

Fourthly, when one takes a longer view of the situation today, one cannot but feel that the Kuo Ming Tang, in its student program, is so thoroughly disorganising school discipline and disturbing the necessary concentration of attention for study, that it is saddling the future of the country with a heavy disadvantage. This generation of China's youth affected by the Kuo Ming Tang program is growing up with no discipline and very little real study. This is particularly serious for a country like China where the nation's leadership is exclusively drawn from the student class.

Lastly, the Kuo Ming Tang, particularly the left wing, in its appeal to the mass is stirring up much discontent among the workers untempered with a regard for the general welfare. All will be well when the mass is amenable to the leadership of the party. But should the workers thus roused by the Kuo Ming Tang ever get out of hand, then we will have the devil to pay.

#### VI. The Fundamental Issue.

In the present situation in China, there are two kinds of development going on. To understand the situation right, we need to differentiate between the two and attach to each the correct significance. There is, first, a fundamental process unfolding in China's national life and then, second, there are the particular manifestations of this fundamental process.

The fundamental process I will call the Process of Nation-making. China, as a nation, in the modern sense of the term does not exist. She is, so far, still an aggregate of families just beginning to be conscious of nationhood. Hitherto, the unit of Chinese political thought is the family and not the nation and the unit of political relationship is the family tie rather than the bond of citizenship. Loyalty to the family is far more real than loyalty to the state for the ordinary man. As long as this is true it is unthinkable that China can become democratized. Until the basis of political thinking in China is shifted from the family to the state in the minds of the people, the work of the revolution cannot be said to be complete. At this very moment in our national life, we are seeing the birth of this conception of the nation-state gradually superseding the conception of the family-state. It needed all these years of suffering and turmoil to force men's minds to this change. But at last, this change is well on its way and daily ~~is~~ gaining momentum. This is the fundamental issue we need to grasp in order to understand the significance of what is happening in China today.

The Revolution in 1911 was a change in political labels only unaccompanied by a change in political concept. When Dr. Sun relinquished his presidency in favor of Yuan Shih Kai, all hopes for the mental change disappeared. It has taken us all these fifteen years to work back to the point when the necessary mental change begins to be possible again. We may think, therefore, of the northward advance of

the nationalist Government in 1926 as ushering in the second stage in the Peoples' Revolution - a revolution essentially in the peoples' political thinking. This stage will not be complete until this change in political ideals and ideas have permeated the mass of China's four hundred millions. Even with all the forces working in the country, this will take at least another decade. Then and only then we shall see the dawn of the third stage of the Peoples' Revolution, the stage of national reconstruction in our political and social life along indigenous lines.

Now a word about the second phase of this fundamental process, namely the particular manifestations. By these, I am referring to incidents like the May 4th Movement, the Washington Conference agitations, the May 30th shooting affair, the boycott against Japan and now against Great Britain; the Kuo Ming Tang Drive, General K'ai Shek, Marshall Sun Chuan Wang, Chang Tso Lin, Wu Pei Fu and Co. etc. These are like the whirl-pools and eddies carried on the surface of the main stream. The nation-making is the main stream. The particular incidents and personalities I have just mentioned are the whirl-pools and eddies. The main stream is permanent and irresistible in its onward sweep. The whirl-pools and eddies are incidental and transient. Therefore, it is of the utmost importance that we differentiate between these two phases of China's growth and refuse to be led astray by accepting the particular manifestations as the whole development. If we fall into this error, we shall become either pessimists or violent patriots and this is good neither for our health nor for our business.

This fundamental process of nation-making is essentially educational in nature. The term "educational" is here used in its broadest sense. Everything which contributes to the progress of this process is included in the term. The senseless strife between the militarists is as truly educational for the people as the northern drive of the nationalist armies. The only difference is that one is definitely blocking and delaying the process while the other is helping forward the cause. There is no question whatever as to which has the support of the people's will and affection. Today, the militarists are held in universal execration while the nationalists' Kuo Ming Tang, with its communistic left wing and all, is hailed as saviours of China. From this, it ought to be clear to us that persons and organisations in China today suspected by the people of blocking the free development of this fundamental process will have their usefulness seriously affected and even their continued existence threatened. The same would be true of governments and nations.

#### VII. Britain's position in China.

Many British friends of mine have asked me during the past year the question, "Why is Great Britain so unpopular in China today?" There are several answers to this question.

1. Great Britain is looked upon by the politicians of China as the leader of the exploiting nations. If we can force a change of policy on the part of Britain, the other nations will follow suit.
2. To Britain, China has always been a "market". Everything must be sacrificed for trade. British merchant ships must be allowed to move freely in inland waterways even where there is war. If they can not go in peacefully, the British navy is called upon for escort duty. China's struggles in her attempt to work out her problems are nothing but interruptions to normal trade. The Chinese deeply resent this attitude.



3. Britain, rightly or wrongly, is looked upon by the Chinese people as being persistently antagonistic to the nationalist aspirations of China. For this impression, Britain has her own press in China to thank. The three principal British papers in Shanghai, Tientsin and Hankow have with blind pertinacity misread the signs of times and poured ridicule and contumely on the nationalistic cause. It is true that the tone of the British press in China is now beginning to change but unfortunately the damage to international understanding is already done. But for this, I believe Lampson's ~~sketch~~ famous memorandum would not have fallen as flat as it did in China.

#### VIII. The Church in the Present Situation:

The Christian Church in China today is being attacked mainly along four lines. First, the Church is attacked because of the foreign nature in her organization, administration, personnel and support. She is denounced as the agent of foreign exploitation in China. In this line of attack one hears distinctly the voice of the Nationalist. The attack is not so much on religion here as on foreign influence in religion. Second, the Church is attacked as an instrument of capitalism created by the capitalist class for the sole purpose of drugging the mind and lulling the spirit of the submerged classes in society. In this the Communistic voice is speaking. Third, the Church is denounced as an outworn institution, a relic of superstition and an opponent of human progress. The atheist and the agnostic are speaking in this line of criticism. Fourth, the Church is attacked because she practises not that which she preaches. This is the most common criticism of the man on the street.

Two Christian institutions are being singled out for particular attack at this time. These are, first the schools and colleges, and second, the Y. M. C. A.

The attack on the Christian educational institutions takes two forms. These two forms are expressed in the two popular slogans of the Kuo Ming Tang - "Recovery of Educational Rights" and "Down with Christian Schools." The first slogan embodies the program requiring registration of Christian schools with the Government. The conditions of registering are (A) a Chinese Principal. (B) No compulsory attendance in religious services. (C) The Bible to be excluded from the curriculum. (D) A Chinese board of control. (E) Supervision by Government educational authorities. Generally speaking, Chinese Christians are heartily in favor of this program.

The slogan "Down with Christian Schools" expresses the determination of another group in the country inspired by the left wing of the Kuo Ming Tang to put an end to all Christian schools. The method used is to try and break up the Christian school from within by utilizing disaffected students and ambitious but credulous teachers. Already in quite a few cities, Christian schools have been broken up. With this program, Chinese Christians can have nothing to do. It directly contravenes the right of any citizen to establish private schools.

The Y. M. C. A. has been early singled out by the Anti-Christian group for destruction. The chief method used so far is to cut off the membership of the Y.M.C.A., thereby cutting off the source of support. As the Y. M. C. A.'s in local centers are entirely dependent upon local subscriptions, the prospect before them is an extremely serious one.

The fundamental issue before the Christian group in this situation, however, is not so much to preserve and save this or that particular institution. The real issue at stake is the question of religious freedom. This freedom must be preserved at all costs and Chinese Christians will be well advised if their main attention and best effort are centered on safeguarding this point.

In conclusion may I add that there never was a time in China when people's hearts are bouding with more hope than today. For the first time in the last fifteen years, glimmerings of a possible solution to our problem is visible on the horizon. The atmosphere around us strongly reminds us of the Revolution days in 1911. Expectancy and hope are in the air and a forward move is now possible.

. . . . .

Note: The above article was written by Mr. T. Z. Koo for publication in England. No quotation, from it should be printed until after it has been published.

The following notes are from a report written by an American secretary on the national staff of the Y. M. C. A. who visited Hankow in December, 1926, and who had unusually good opportunities of consulting leaders in the Church and also in the Nationalist Party:

SOME GENERAL IMPRESSIONS AND CONCLUSIONS.

I. General

1. The present movement is, or is rapidly becoming, a real people's Revolution. It is altogether different from the Revolution of 1911 or any of the subsequent so-called revolutions. Those were surface disturbances affecting only a few. This goes much deeper. Those were waves on an inland lake. This is an oncoming sea tide.

2. The main purposes of the present Revolution are such that right-minded persons must sympathize with them. It is reaching out for emancipation: (1) for national freedom; (2) for a government of, for, and by the people; and (3) for economic freedom for the masses.

3. The leaders of the present Movement have started something they cannot control. They have unleashed powers, as in the awakened masses, which will almost surely go to excesses. They have stirred desires and aspirations which cannot be satisfied soon. This means a long period of discontent and striving.

4. Foreign powers will have to adjust themselves to the processes of evolution taking place in the life of China, not vice versa. It will do no good to accuse China of international immorality and to try to hold her up to obsolete treaties. These treaties are unfair and they hold China up in her development. If no other way appears for getting the treaties revised China will cut the Gordian knot by ignoring them. Any other nation would do the same if similarly placed.

5. The New Regime is not afraid of foreign force. It has discovered in the boycott and strike a method of warfare which even an unarmed nation can wage with deadly effectiveness. Armed intervention by foreign forces would defeat the object of intervention: that is, it would make impossible the continuance of trade

and other relations which intervention would be insisting on! What Turkey and Russia have done China can do in getting ride of international arrangements distasteful to her.

6. Russia has played her hand in China with consummate skill. By agreeing to revoke the unequal treaties and treating China as an equal she has commended herself to Young China as its only friend. The other Powers have in the de facto government in Peking backed the wrong horse. They appear as supporting the forces of darkness and reaction from selfish, mercenary motives. It will take time, sincere dealings, sympathetic understanding, and all sorts of skill to retrieve their present embarrassed position vis a vis China.

7. The present People's Revolution is a minority movement, as every such movement in history has been. It is, however, an intelligent, patriotic, and powerful minority and it is gathering the masses rapidly to its support.

8. One feels in the Revolutionary Leaders the force of an almost religious faith and passion. Sun Yat Sen is practically worshipped. His words are words of scripture. This sort of spirit has drive, it is contagious, it makes men willing to die; it may of course be cooled, even lost, but until then it cannot be defeated by outside forces.

## II. The Peoples Revolution and the Christian Movement:

1. As Christians come to understand the main ideals and purposes of the Revolution they will find themselves in sympathy with them. As Chinese they will feel that they must join this movement for the redemption and regeneration of their country.

2. Unfortunately there is an element in the Revolutionary party which is hostile to Christianity. Their opposition is based on their assertion that (a) Christianity is a relic of obsolete superstition and is an obstacle therefore to progress which depends entirely on science, and (b) that Christianity in China is an instrument of cultural exploitation, denationalizing the people, and the vanguard of political and economic imperialism.

3. Though in the minority, this anti-Christian Communistic Left Wing of the Party exerts great power and in places is in control of the Party. Wherever it has a majority in the membership of a provincial, city, or district (neighborhood) party Committee, it is likely to take the law into its own hands, attacking individual Christians and Christian institutions. This minority group now controls the Propaganda Department of the People's Army.

4. There is danger that the principle of religious liberty may be revoked. This will probably be done if the Left Wing gains control of the Central Government. This they have not yet done. The Central Government and the Army are under the almost absolute control of General Chiang Kai Shek who is more in sympathy with the Right than with the Left Wing.

5. Feng Yuhsiang's "Christian Army" is another safeguard against anti-Christian measures by the Government. The Central Government has instructed the Propaganda Bureau to let the religious faith of Feng's Army alone.

6. Christians find themselves in an awkward dilemma. (1) To stay out of the Party classifies one as against the Revolution and for the militarists and imperialists. (2) To enter the Party may mean joining a unit in the Party organization which is anti-Christian. The issue with thoughtful Christian leaders in Wuhan has resolved itself into this; how can we as Christians identify ourselves with the People's Revolution without compromising or repudiating our Christian loyalty.

7. Chinese Christians must be freed to follow their own conscience and judgment in working out a solution to this problem. An effort by missionaries to control and decide what shall and shall not be done will (a) stigmatize the Chinese Christians as "foreign dogs" in the eyes of outsiders, and will (b) lead to inevitable schism between Chinese and foreigners in the Christian body.

8. The main problem of the Christian Church is not that of how it can escape the storm which has broken upon it, but rather how it can purify its own life and make its practices more consistent with its own ideals. Christian leaders in the New Government are saying that a Martin Luther is needed. Christian and some non-Christian leaders are saying that the Christian Movement should be the best ally of this People's Revolution working for the salvation of China.

9. Clear thinking on the problem of the relation between Christianity and politics is required. The old ready formula will not satisfy.

10. Those who regard Christianity as a way of life will feel that it cannot say it has no relation to this great living Movement, the People's Revolution. At the same time, one's personal conviction is that the organizations of Christianity cannot best serve either this Movement or the more abiding purposes of Christianity itself by converging themselves into branches of the Party organization. Individual Christians will have an easier problem in determining their individual course of action.

# The Present Situation in China

PAUL C. MENG

*Is the present situation in China hopeful or "the worst since the Boxers' Trouble"? What is the Nationalistic Spirit in China? How much has Russia influenced the "Southern" or "Cantonese" Government? Who is Chang Tso-lin? What are the "North" and "South" fighting for? What are some of the representative sentiments of the people of China? The following is an attempt to answer these questions and others briefly.*

## I. Is the Present Situation in China Hopeful?

To the Chinese people and Americans who have observed recent developments in China, the present situation in China gives very good reasons for optimism. At last the people as a whole have regained confidence in their potentiality and have caught a vision of a free and independent country, unhampered by foreign intervention and unequal treaties.

The present situation in China is not to be compared with the Boxers' Uprising in 1900. The Boxers' Trouble was more or less mob violence, while the present uprising is by

the people and with a definite program. Furthermore, the present uprising is distinctly a people's revolution, the object of which is to recover the sovereign rights of their nation and to make their country a commonwealth for all classes of people. The three people's principles of Sun Yat-Sen correspond more or less to "A government of the people, for the people, and by the people." Only Dr. Sun's principles are more explicit and based more on modern social and political ideas.

## II. What Is the Nationalistic Spirit in China?

The Nationalistic spirit in China should not be confused with Bolshevism. It is, on the contrary, synonymous with patriotism in the best sense. For almost a century, China has suffered economically and politically under the unequal treaties forced upon her by seventeen imperialistic nations, and the oppression of military dictators. She now becomes conscious of her strength and is determined to shake off any chains and to remove any obstacles that prevent her from becoming a free and independent nation.

Ever since the founding of the Republic of China in 1911, China has politely asked the Powers to take steps to abolish the unequal treaties. These appeals have been either ignored or evaded. Promises were made to China by the Powers at the Washington Conference in 1922, but the Powers did not make any sincere efforts to fulfill their promises. Consequently some of the Nationalists in China are led to believe that if China wants to recover her sovereign rights, it has to be done by force.

## III. How Much Has Russia Influenced the "Southern" or "Cantonese" Government?

In the first place, how did Russia win the good will of the Chinese nation? Russia in 1924 voluntarily relinquished her special privileges under the unequal treaties in China and openly avowed that she would treat China as a friendly nation on an equal basis. The Chinese people as a whole do not know what Bolshevism is nor what has happened in Russia since the Russian Revolution, but they do know this—that Russia, of her own accord, willingly gave up the unequal treaties and became China's friend, while the other nations did not even attempt to make known their intention to give up the unequal treaties.

The "Cantonese" or the "Southern" Government is composed of the so-called Central Committee. On this Committee there are Nationalists and Communists. The Nationalists aspire to make China a free and independent democracy, while the Communists advocate the workers' revolution or "Bolshevism." Russia has direct influence over the Left Wing or the Communists of this Committee. But the Central Committee is not controlled by the Communists—the majority of the members of the Central Committee being Nationalists. To those who have studied the social structure and temperament of the Chinese people, Communism will never find fruitful soil in China.

The "Cantonese" Government has a definite program and definite ideals. It is erroneous to call it the "Southern" Government. Though it has had its center of activity in the Southern part of China, yet the Kuomin Tang, the party in

control of the "Southern" Government, has its supporters all over China and among the Chinese overseas. It is misleading to call it either the "Cantonese" Government or the "Southern" Government. It is not a "Cantonese" Government, simply because it is not in Canton nor is it controlled entirely by the Cantonese. The administrative offices of the Government have been moved to Wuchang and Hankow. Some of the most prominent leaders in the Government are not Cantonese. It is most appropriate to call this organization the Nationalist Government. The Nationalist Government is well organized. It has definite proposals regarding public finance, education and foreign policy. The most impressive thing about the Nationalist Government is that it is not militaristic, nor is it controlled by one dictator. The army is under the control of the civil authorities, which is in turn governed by the Central Committee. Furthermore, it has for its ideals the three people's principles of Sun Yat-Sen and the realization of a nation that is free from foreign bondage. "The Cantonese Government is probably the best government Canton has had since the Revolution," says Dr. James M. Henry, ex-President of Lingnan University of Canton, China. "The Southern Government is the only government in China that has a real program and that has actually introduced and performed social reform."

The press in America has made much of Russia's influence in the present turmoil in China. It has repeatedly pointed out that ammunition and expert advice are being given to the "Southern" Government by Russia, but it has failed to

point out, either consciously or unconsciously, that British support is with the "North." According to reliable and recent reports from China, the most up-to-date equipment of

Chang Tso-lin's army is partly from England. There is also evidence that the British are supplying, at the same time, a large amount of ammunition to General Sun Chuan-fang.

#### IV. Who Is Chang Tso-lin?

Chang Tso-lin was a bandit leader in Manchuria. He was hired by Japan to fight in the Russo-Japanese War. Later he was made an officer in the Chinese Army in Manchuria at the request of Japan. During recent years he succeeded in controlling Manchuria. Chang Tso-lin has aspired

to become the dictator of China by force and is at present controlling Manchuria and the greater part of North China. In contrast with the Nationalist Government, the so-called "Northern" Government is dominated at the present time by one man, namely, Chang Tso-lin.

#### V. What Are the "North" and "South" Fighting For?

"South" is the name popularly given to the Nationalist Government, while the "North" is at present represented by Chang Tso-lin. In the eyes of the Chinese people, it is a fight between a party with a definite program and ideals against a party that has no program or ideals but is under the dictatorship of one man. Sun Chuan-fang is an ally of Chang Tso-lin. He is attempting to stop the Nationalist Army in the province of Chekiang. Wu Pei Fu is another

ally of the so-called "North." General Feng Yu Hsiang, the Christian General, is an ally of the Nationalist Party. The people of China have no respect for Chang Tso-lin, nor any sympathy with the Communists. They submit to his rule in Manchuria and part of North China simply because he has a very strong and well-equipped army. The moral support of the Chinese people is with the Nationalist Party.

#### VI. What Is the Sentiment of the Chinese People?

At the Seventeenth Annual Meeting of the Chinese Students' Alliance in America it was resolved that the three people's principles of Sun Yat-Sen be adopted as China's ideals and program. At the same conference it was also resolved that the Chinese students should recognize the Nationalist Government as the government of China and that the same government should be recognized by the nations of the world.

The unconditioned support of the Nationalist Government by the Chinese students indicated at the same time their sentiments toward the unequal treaties. Their three

resolutions sent to the State Department at Washington represent the sentiment of the Chinese people. They are: First, we resent the landing of American Marines and the increase in American naval units in China. Second, we request the American Government to refrain from participating with the other foreign governments in interfering with our internal affairs. Third, we request the American Government to take independent, immediate and concrete steps toward abolishing the unequal treaties, including extra-territoriality, which is at the root of all anti-foreign agitation.

#### VII. The Policy of the United States

Since the Washington Conference in 1922, some of the Chinese people have been led to believe that the United States has deviated from her traditional policy of friendship and independent action in her dealings with China. Mr. Charles R. Crane, ex-American Minister to China, believed that the United States should have long ago led in initiating the negotiating of new treaties with China, in place of the conventional tariff and extra-territoriality. He said at the Johns Hopkins Conference on American Relations with China (September, 1925), "We have wasted three or four years, and many of the things that we propose today ought to have been done at the time of the Peace Conference."

Dr. Paul Munroe, Director of the International Institute, Teachers' College, Columbia University, in testifying before the Congressional Committee on Foreign Affairs said, "One of the greatest defects in America's approach to China, in my judgment, has been that we have seldom if ever paid any attention to what the Chinese are thinking, and that applies to our business men, to the missionaries, and it applies even to the government, that is, we determine all those things on the basis of what we think about them and we have reached the stage when Chinese public opinion is of such significance and is such a determining factor that if we wish to guide our own policy aright it seems to me highly important that we pay attention to what the Chinese really think and believe, which underlies their actions."

Mr. Felix Morley, editor of the *Baltimore Sun*, wrote in part supporting the Porter Resolution in the House of Representatives, "In the five years since the Washington Conference nothing has been accomplished in fulfillment of the Nine Power Treaty, pledging to respect the sovereignty of China. Futile assurances of sympathy and promises of 'gradual and progressive' steps in granting China full tariff autonomy are merely irritants to the Chinese Nationalists. The United States must now choose between the British policy of force with all its incalculable dangers and the constructive alternative offered by the Porter Resolution."

Bishop Charles H. Brent, who has done so much in supporting China in the International Opium Conference and was formerly bishop in the Philippine Islands for twenty years, wrote to Representative Porter in part, "I am with you entirely. I believe that except on such lines America is apt to stultify herself in China. Someone has to make the break and none is in a better position than we ourselves."

The Chinese who have come into contact with the liberal thinking people in America have found that the American people as a whole mean well to China and want to do the fair and just thing in the present crisis. However, this friendly sentiment in America, though widely spread, has not been crystallized into action. Consequently nothing has been done to enable the Chinese people to see concretely and to feel actually that there is such a sentiment. On the other

hand, some Chinese observers have been led to believe that the United States has been influenced by the tradition of concerted action of the Powers in China and that for the sake of acting with the other Powers in China the United States has sacrificed opportunities by which she should have shown to China her sincerity in pursuing a disinterested and just policy. If the United States had voluntarily renounced her special privileges under the unequal treaties as Russia did, the United States would have undoubtedly become China's greatest friend and the strongest moral influence in the Far East. Authorities on American trade with China, such as Mr. Eldridge, chief of the Far Eastern Division of the United States Department of Commerce, and Mr. Julean Arnold, Commercial Attache to the American Legation in Peking, have both asserted that the modification or abolition of the conventional tariff and extra-territorial rights would increase instead of hamper American trade in China.

### VIII. Are American Lives and Property in Danger?

The Honorable Judge John Barton Payne, Chairman of the American Red Cross, who traveled in China last winter, wrote that during his travel of several thousand miles in China when the Civil War was raging he did not encounter anything but the most cordial treatment. Still more recently, Dr. Robert E. Speer, Secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, strongly denied on his return to New York that American lives or property are in danger in China. He said, "I have just returned from China and in four months' interior travel did not meet with any unkindness nor discourtesy, nor anti-foreign feeling anywhere nor from anyone." Even the American business men in Shanghai are amazed at the unwarranted excitement in America over the safety of American lives and property in China. In a report to the *New York Times*, January 28, 1927, the Associated Press wrote: "Numerous inquiries received by Shanghai Americans and by the American Consul General reveal a state of mind in America which prominent

To those Chinese people who are in China and have never come in contact with the liberal thinking Americans, there is a growing feeling that America has become one of the imperialistic Powers which regard China as a market place and are willing to hold on to their special economic and political advantages at the cost of China's sovereignty and independence. They have some good reasons for believing so. The United States participated in addressing the Ultimatum to China on March 16, 1926. During the strike in China in June of the same year, American Marines were landed in Shanghai to assist the British. The still recent reports of the dispatching of large naval forces from the United States to China have strengthened the belief of the Chinese people that the United States has changed her traditional course of non-intervention in the internal affairs of China.

Americans here characterized today as unduly alarmed over the immediate anti-foreign situation in this city. American business men who have been feeling the effects of the anxiety at home in arranging transactions said the commercial perils in Shanghai had been exaggerated in America."

In spite of the Civil War and the uprisings of mobs and bandits which go with any Civil War and which are beyond the control of the authorities, there has not been a single foreign life taken nor any property confiscated. On September 15, 1926, when the British gunboat bombarded Wansien and destroyed as many as 1,000 inhabitants, the local militia fired back in defense and killed two British soldiers. Those were the only casualties. Mob violence occurs and is usually uncontrollable even in America. The newspapers printed in the headlines, "American Women Dragged Along the Streets in Foochow." But they failed to mention that it was by a mob and that the local authorities put down the mob immediately and executed about twenty ringleaders of this incident.

### IX. Are the Christian Missions Collapsing?

Perhaps the most innocent sufferer of press sensationalism in the present situation is the missionary enterprise in China. The press has declared that Christian missions there have collapsed and that investments of over \$100,000,000 by Christian organizations in America were to be confiscated. According to cable messages from the missions to the International Missionary Council, the most reliable and recent report is that out of approximately eight thousand American missionaries in China only about four hundred have left their posts in the interior of China at the request of American Consuls as a matter of precaution. Of course, in some localities the mission activities are either cut down or handi-

capped by unrest, but the great majority of the missions are carrying on their work as usual. Dr. Robert E. Speer, who has just returned from China, writes to the Editor of the *New York Herald Tribune* in part, "So far as the Board (Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions) knows, no station outside of Hunan has yet been closed, and in most of them no abridgment of work has been made. No property of the Board, as far as is known, by mobs or otherwise has been expropriated by the Government, and the Board has no fear that the Chinese Government will not recognize and respect all legal titles to missionary property. We have abandoned no properties."

### X. Civil War and Foreign Rights

The prominent note in the declarations of the American and British Governments has been that their respective governments would use all necessary force to protect the lives and interests of their nationals in China. That the British and Americans and any other foreign nationals are entitled to safety in China is not questioned even by the extremists in China. However, it must be remembered that civil war is going on between two parties in China. Civil war always

creates unrest, lawlessness and mob violence which are uncontrollable. The Chinese people themselves, according to Americans who have recently returned from China, suffer from the civil war many times more than the foreign interests.—(From personal interviews with Dr. Robert E. Speer, and according to the special correspondent, Thomas F. Millard, of the *New York Times*.) A large number of foreigners are scattered throughout China. The question is,

is it possible for China to stop the Civil War without fighting the real issue, or is it more feasible that these foreigners should withdraw from the dangerous regions where the unrest is worst. Even in America there is a certain amount of lawlessness. The *Detroit Times* perhaps illustrates this point in its editorial comment entitled Turn About: "It would be pretty droll if China sent a gunboat

up the Mississippi to a point opposite Herrin, Illinois, to protect some hand laundries in the vicinity." The Chinese people wonder what America would have felt if during the Civil War in America in 1861 the foreign nations had sent gunboats and insisted that certain cities in America should be neutral zones.

## XI. The Outlook

The people of China are united. They are supporting and will always support the party in the present Civil War which has for its ideal democracy and for its platforms a constructive economic, social and political program. That the party which the Chinese people believe to be patriotic and unselfish will eventually become the controlling force

in the Chinese Government is absolutely certain. It is only a matter of time. It may be postponed by foreign interference. The Chinese people welcome intercourse with foreign nations in trade, travel, and culture exchange, but they would resent any intervention or secret diplomacy which would support a certain faction in China to the detriment of China's fight for democracy and independence.

## APPENDIX

### Some British and American Opinions

Lloyd George in his speech in Bradford on December 4, 1926, said in part, "There are people who say the trouble in China is due to Reds who are inciting Chinamen to rebellion and outrage, but this is not the real cause of the trouble. It is not a Communist movement. The reason is purely that the Chinese are struggling for the elementary fundamental rights of every creed and self-respecting nation. They are a highly civilized people, but they are deprived of the rights enjoyed by some of the smallest nations in the world which only a few centuries ago emerged from savagery."

Senator Borah in his speech before the National Council of Jewish Women said, "China may furnish the acid test of whether the world has been converted to justice as a basis of international dealing or whether it proposes to retain the barbarous creed of force. . . . We must recognize and deal with the Chinese as a great people. We must deal with them in so far as we deal with them as a nation upon terms of equality."

Charles P. Trevelyan in the House of Commons on February 10th stressed the fact in questioning Sir Austin Chamberlain that only

three British subjects were killed in the disorders at Shanghai, Canton and Wanh sien during the past two years, while the number of Chinese killed was about 150 and that the shooting at Shanghai, Canton and Wanh sien and the attempt of the Hongkong authorities to prevent food reaching Canton had infuriated the Chinese first to boycott and then to violence with fatal results to British trade and security.

Grover Clark, editor of the *Peking Leader*, an American newspaper in China, declared on his return to the United States, "In the last three or four years the United States has surrendered a position of leadership among the world powers in trying to obtain fair treatment for China and apparently has been much more concerned with trying to maintain a superficial unity of action with other nations in their dealings with the Chinese. As the result of this, America has far fewer friends in China than she formerly had, and a growing number of Chinese say that the United States has become just as aggressive and imperialistic toward China as the worst of the other nations."

### Cable Messages Received

Cable message received February 10, 1927:

"National Committee of the Y M C A of China in continued communication with all Foreign Secretaries. All our Secretaries and families safe. Press reports greatly exaggerated. No foreign lives lost at all.—(Signed) David Z. T. Yui, National Secretary of the National Committee of the Y M C A in China."

Cable message received February 11, 1927:

"Chinese people deeply disappointed Kellogg's backward-looking indefinite qualified statement and sincerely hope Porter Resolution will be passed by Senate. Unequal treaties between us immediately abrogated and new treaties made placing Sino-American relations

on cordial equal reciprocal basis.—(Signed) Shanghai Bankers' Association, Shanghai Chamber of Commerce, Kiangsu Provincial Educational Association, National Industrial & Commercial Federation."

N. B.: The writer, in preparing this statement, has consulted the recent addresses of the Chinese Minister, Dr. Sao-Ko Alfred Sze; the statements issued by Dr. A. L. Warnshius, Secretary of the International Missionary Council, and, in personal interviews, with Dr. P. W. Kuo, ex-President of Southeastern University of China, and Dr. Robert E. Speer of the Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions. The statement is prepared for those who do not have access to sources of reliable information regarding the present situation in China.

PAUL C. MENG.

New York City, February 11, 1927.



Political Situation as  
Seen by Y. W. C. A.

Helen Thoburn  
and others

會協國全會年青女教督基華中

NATIONAL COMMITTEE

OF THE

YOUNG WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION  
OF CHINA

號一廬林景路浦乍海上

1 YOUNG ALLEN COURT,

SHANGHAI

MRS. H. C. MEI 夫人銓華梅  
CHAIRMAN 長會  
MRS. C. C. CHEN 夫人成章鄭  
VICE-CHAIRMAN 長會副  
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TREASURER 庫司

MRS. HERMAN LIU 夫人恩湛劉  
SECRETARY 記書  
MRS. C. C. LIN 夫人峻其凌  
CORRESPONDING SEC. 啓書  
MISS TING SHU-CHING 女士靜淑丁  
GENERAL SECRETARY 事幹總

January 7, 1927.

In December we compiled for a few of the overseas correspondents of this office, the enclosed account of the coming of the Canton Government in Wuchang, based upon letters received here from one of our foreign staff in that city. Since then we have also received from the Wuchang staff, rough translations of a collection of Kuomintang posters, from which we have taken representative sections and made a second compilation, also enclosed.

We are constantly receiving requests for material in English which might throw some light on the present situation in China, hence we are sending these to a group of people who we think would find them of special interest. Whatever we may think, or come to think, of the place of the Kuomintang in China's future, this first-hand material does convey something of the feel of this which one of the leading Chinese Christians referred to here the other day as "the revolution of the people's mind."

It is as yet difficult for us to gauge the relative places of the Right and Left Wings of the Southern Government. It should perhaps be noted here that the Wuchang letters reflect the incoming of the more moderate Right Wing, while similar letters we have been receiving from Changsha, where the extremist left are as yet in control, indicate a far more difficult situation, and "a time of living through days like the first Christian era, when life and property may be at stake any time." Even from here, however, our secretaries write with great courage, with gratitude for the splendid spirit between the Chinese and foreign members of the staff, and with a feeling that "when the new government gets settled in Wuchang, that may big more order and control into affairs here as well."

Here in Shanghai, groups of leaders of various Christian organizations are in constant conference as to the problems now being raised for the Christian Church. It is as yet almost impossible to know how much, if any, religious liberty is to be allowed under the Kuomintang.

In the meantime, the immediate thing for all of us seems to be, to try to understand as fully as possible all that is going on, and to meet the dilemma of how Christianity can generously contribute to this "People's Revolution" even though it contains so many distinctly anti-Christian elements. As source material for problems such as these, this material has seemed to be worth sending out, at this time.

Very sincerely yours,

Helen Thoburn  
Publication Department

Wuchang Hupeh China  
November 16, 1926

Dear Orange Y.W.C.A.-

The revolutionary government has been in control here a little over one month, and those of us who were eagerly hopeful of what its coming would mean to the people are now increasingly enthusiastic about our new regime.

I have lived through enough changes of regime in China - once in Changsha we had five or six different governors within a few months - to appreciate the difference in this last change. This time it's not "a fresh army, but an army all the same" as most changes have been; this time it is an army, an instructed and purposeful army, along with a political organization that seeks to train the people for real citizenship.

These revolutionary soldiers are different; a riksha man does not have to slow down when he catches up to a group of soldiers and wait until we get to a cross road in order to get by them. He says directly, "Let me by, please," and the soldiers politely step aside, an almost unheard of thing among previous soldiers. There is no more cringing in the presence of soldiers; the very actions of the people on the street show that they consider these soldiers are friendly human beings. No policeman dares beat the riksha men any longer - the soldiers protect them. And it is such a relief to have some clean and manly soldiers after these years of dirty slouching military. Some of the defeated Northern soldiers have gone into the revolutionary army. We have heard of instance after instance where one of them will be up to their old trick of browbeating the people, and along will come a real Southern soldier and say, "Here, we have a reputation among the people for decent treatment and you can't spoil that":

And the South have brought up not only an army, but a political organization that gets to work the very day the army arrives: posters everywhere explaining the aims of the revolution; street speakers everywhere telling the people the kind of government they must expect and work for; mass meetings for the people, emphasizing that "all classes - farmer, worker, merchant, student, soldier - are to work together for New China." Here too there is a difference from previous street educating: practically no "anti" (anti-foreign, anti-religion, anti-Christian) but constant "pro" - pro-China. It is marvelous how practically overnight the emphasis in popular catchwords has shifted from opposition to something to constructing a people's government.

The basis of the revolutionary government is the teaching of Sun Wen (Sun Yat-Sen), as shown in "The Three Principles of the People" and "The Five Constitutional Powers." There is an excellent article on these which I will send you, in The Chinese Recorder for November on page 774. His "Three Principles" are "people's nationalism," "people's sovereignty," and "people's livelihood." Sun Wen himself says this is Lincoln's "Of the people, by the people, and for the people," which he puts into Chinese as "The people have, the people rule, the people enjoy." The five constitutional powers which he advocates are the three that we are already familiar with - judicial, legislative, executive - plus examination (for position) and censorship (or impeachment).

I went into a bookstore here a couple of weeks ago and asked what students are reading these days; the man sold me three or four pamphlets - "The Five Constitutional Powers," "A Catechism on the Three Principles of the People," "An Outline for Establishing the People's Government," and "A Life of Sun Chun-San (Sun Yat Sen)." The third of these helps you understand just what steps the new government proposes to take to set up a good government in China. They frankly say there are three steps - first, military rule; second, a period of instruction and preparation for self-government; third, constitutional government. We are now in the first period here in Wuchang - when "all is thoroughly under military rule; on the one hand military power will be used to get rid of all impediments within the country; on the other hand, there will be a preaching of our doctrines to enlighten the hearts of all people in the country to the end that we may have unity in government."

November 12 was the birthday celebration for Sun Yat-Sen. I wanted to go along to the celebration with Miss Liu, our general secretary. But she wouldn't let me. Just this is a sign of the new day in China - four or five years ago in Changsha any public gathering would have welcomed a foreigner, and almost any Chinese would have been happy to have a foreign friend go along. Now, not only do our Chinese friends feel safer and less embarrassed without us, but they say so! I just thoroughly enjoyed her refusal to take me with her.

Tens of thousands of people, "enough to make a line surrounding the whole city wall" a man told me, went and listened to the speeches from all groups of society - farmer, merchant, labor, student, soldier, women; all stressing the saying of Sun Wen's "The revolution is not yet completed; all must unite and arise to help our country.", Miss Liu says there was but one reference to Christianity, and that merely an illustration; it is an undreamed of thing, or at least a very new thing, for Chinese to have some hours of speeches with no anti-Christian note in them.

It is only fair to say that there is one danger in all this popular explaining of the revolutionary aims, and that is that labor is being aroused. That is, there is some danger that they are being led too suddenly to expect the millenium, without being made to realize that education and sound government are the only bases on which there can be a real improvement in the lot of the laboring - or any other - class. So we are already having ridiculous strikes and cockiness on the part of labor; more hopeful than indifference, to be sure, but with the possibility of trouble that may prove a big problem to the new regime.

One of the most significant things that happened on Sun Wen's birthday was a letter issued by the Kuomintang (Revolutionary Party) to their "Foreign Friends": it appeared in the foreign newspaper and thousands of copies were distributed in the foreign concessions. It expressed cordial and friendly sentiments to foreigners in general in this country. After all the denunciation of everything foreign by the more radical groups in China, it comes as a surprise to have this party admitting that everything in China is not yet perfect, that the West enjoys a more comfortable life, that the West has helped China both in spirit and in material; it expresses the hope that "our dear friends of various nations will cooperate for the maintenance of the peace of the world, the improvement of human welfare, and the development of the worldly civilization." Here one sees continued proof that the revolutionary government wants to cooperate with rather than antagonize outside powers.

The Canton Government Moves to Central China.

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(Not to be used in print. Compiled from letters received in the National Y.W.C.A. offices of China. -- Helen Thoburn)

Shanghai, December 11, 1926.

Yesterday I sent out a letter suggesting how political interest in China is converging towards Wuchang as the Southern Government officials travel northwards with a view to transferring their government there. Today I want to compile some extracts from a series of letters we are receiving from one of our secretaries in Wuchang through the past six weeks, as they reflect a new type of government for China, in the making. You understand that Wuchang, just across the river from Hankow, up the Yangtze River in the center of China, is an old thoroughly Chinese city with much prestige, and with the added significance of having been the place where the 1911 Revolution was started, - attractive to the Chinese, therefore, as a site for the Sun Yat Sen or Kuomintang Government which is spreading up from the South. Its neighbor Hankow, "the Pittsburgh of Asia," is a concession city and the heart of foreign trade in Central China; therefore the strong contrast suggested from time to time in these letters, between the atmosphere in these two places.

Today's paper says that the Southern officials, including Eugene Chen, the Russian adviser Borodin, Madame Sun Yat Sen, and General Chiang Kai Shek (whom I heard characterized the other day as "the spiritual successor to Sun Yat Sen") were due to arrive in Hankow or Wuchang yesterday.

The letters from which the following extracts are taken have been written, unless otherwise stated, to Helen Thoburn, with the suggestion that they may be made use of though not for print. They are from Maud Russell, an American Y. W. C. A. secretary in Wuchang. The Miss Liu of whom she speaks is the Chinese general secretary of the Wuchang Y. W. C. A. Miss Liu and Miss Russell remained in Wuchang during the forty days of its recent siege, at the end of which it was taken by the South.

October 16, 1926.

"We have been all day in the native city (of Hankow). Queer, how utterly safe I feel in that midst of non-foreigners, while so many of the foreigners here stick close to the concession these days. I am daily deeply thankful not to be burdened by fear. That is one thing Chinese to need to be delivered from, even some Christians." (Miss Russell and Miss Liu remained in Wuchang chiefly to care for a large number of women refugees, and she had written during the siege, of

the oppression of fear which constantly lay on the Chinese during the whole experience; she was impersonally interested in the contribution of security and trust which Christianity could make to such a situation.)

October 23.

"It's great to be back in Wuchang. The atmosphere in Hankow toward China is strangling. And it's queer, the different feeling I have toward Wuchang now: a real sense of belonging - almost possessive!"

November 2.

Miss Russell writes that government schools are not opening after the raising of the siege, perhaps because the Southern Government knows that to assemble students in the city provides too much opportunity for the radical student elements to make trouble. The mission schools were opening again.

"This morning I poked in book store, reading the tables of contents of their magazines and seeing what government propaganda they have on hand. I've three or four interesting looking booklets to read. 'Catechism of the People's Three Principles', 'The Five Constitutional Powers', 'An Outline for an Official Setting up a Republic' (all free translations). I am trying to make a collection of the hand bills that are being scattered these days, - an interesting way of arousing and expressing public opinion."

*M*

*→ every 10 days*

November 15.

"I hope you there (in Shanghai) will soon have the joy of living under the Revolutionary Government: of course at best, living in a foreign concession, you would get a diluted impression of it. But it is wonderful to be living in Wuchang under their government: you do have the feeling that they are trying to be a people's government. Everyone, except the rich is strong in their praises. There is a new note in speeches, parades, and posters: build up China, - a welcome relief from all the anti's we've had these past years. Miss Liu went to the big mass meeting on Sun Wen's birthday and said there was only one reference to anything Christian, and that not anti. It was such fun - I just loved it - she would not let me go with her; how different from the days in Changsha when any public gathering was glad to have a foreigner in attendance: Now your Chinese friends tell you quite frankly that they feel safer without you tagging along! To have lived long enough to see this day gives one a sense of progress out here!"

*M*

Also written November 15. to Irene Dean.

"I am so thrilled to be here these days and see what a change the Southern Government is making in the people's attitude toward government, to get the feel of a real new day in China. I am heart and soul behind this government. Their attitude so far has been dignified and friendly; they have on every possible occasion expressed cordial feelings for Westerners; they have not let up on their determination to right the wrong treaties or get rid of foreign rights in China; they are going right ahead with their educational propaganda, you get the feel as you go about the city that they are taking the people into their confidence. The thoroughness with which the administration and the military work together gives me great confidence in their honesty of purpose. The people everywhere speak glowingly of the south, - the better treatment the rickshaw coolies get, the refusing to allow the police to lord it over the rickshaw men at will, - the rickshaw men appealing successfully to passing soldiers to help them. No longer is there the cringing before the soldiers. -- It is a new day for the common people: not merely in theory but in daily life, there is a difference in this city."

*Miss Russell  
Wuchang  
at  
the  
Industrial  
Council  
com*

*M*

November 21.

The people feel they have something different, and this is one of the best things you can say for a new regime in China. Any group of women you get into will surely talk about the new government - and who ever heard us so interested in change of government those years in Changsha". And the intelligence and enthusiasm with which they discuss! - they're as eager in hearing some item as groups we're familiar with at home would listen to a piece of choice gossip! Then when I'm particularly thrilled is when I get a chance in such a group honestly to share in their enthusiasm and to contribute what I may have read up on 'The Three Principles' or something else that helps us understand the Revolution.

"I don't know if I wrote you about a call Miss Liu made on an official about our reopening the Y.W.C.A. He was very interested in our work, - that we foreigners were her associates, etc. Asked about what is our attitude toward the new government, Miss Liu of course told him. He said, "Well, I am interested to know there are foreigners like that: can you bring Miss Russell around and let us discuss together? I'd like to talk with a sympathetic foreigner about our Government'. Then he said, 'I know something about Christianity, though I am not a Christian; I know the good work the Y.W.C.A. is doing in Canton, where I have lived; in fact the whole spirit of sacrifice in our Revolution comes from Christianity: That's not a Chinese thing'. What more do you want?!"

"And yet there are foreigners who hinder the new government by criticising every small point they can find; who would use force and show these people a few things; who utterly ignore the many times this government has expressly said they are not anti-anything, but are anxious to cooperate, and that foreigners and Christian schools are to be protected."

Miss Russell then goes on to describe the wise forbearance of the American Consul in Hankow, Mr. Lockhart, during the detention of two American officials of the British Cigarette Company, when they went to interview the Southern Government officials about the strike demands. He "did his best to get at the government re the matter". Other Americans in Hankow demanding of the Consul "that he act," armed themselves and started toward the place of the detention. The two men in question were freed, "some say because of the armed Americans who were about to come, others, because of the act of our consul through the proper channels. The Central China Post carried a scorching leader severely attacking our consul for ineptitude and slowness, and suggesting that he might have called on our gunboats to help - 'what are they here for?'"

She then tells how in the desire to express for at least one American, her thankfulness that he had not precipitated anything by force, she went to call on the Consul. "He said he was grateful for appreciation; that he was under daily pressure to use force; that he would not use it but would exhaust every other peaceful and patient means. I took the opportunity to thank him for leaving us alone during the siege, and also of expressing my gratitude that as a foreign consul he had refused to have anything to do with the war.

"If that angry mob of Americans had done that thing, every single group of foreigners in inland China at least would have been at the mercy of a mob within twenty-four hours, while that American group would have been safely on a hunboat in Hankow. It makes you tremble to think how great are the chances that some fool act on the part of a foreigner will get us into a terrible mess. If only we can be patient and try to be sympathetic!"

Miss Russell then gives a long description of the efforts of irresponsible labor organizers (chiefly servants out of work) to induce anti-foreign strikes, - and of the bewilderment of the servants in her own house because they do not understand the process. "We have told them that we are not opposing a servants' union; that we are very sympathetic with them in their predicament; that we will understand if they are forced to walk out on us. I have told our cook about the Canton experience and how the servants really got the bad end of it. I have also told him how we foreigners have already planned what we shall do if they leave (co-operative housekeeping of the three foreign families in her compound), and that we are all capable of housework - we don't have servants at home." The other families of whom she speaks are British. "Not the least interesting aspect of living here these days is the being with these Britishers: it works for international thinking that is more than just two-sided."

Miss Russell now tells of how she and Miss Liu have been out together a great deal both in the native city and foreign concessions in Hankow, and among "terrific crowds of enthusiastic people in Wuchang," several times getting mixed up in labor parades. Yet the one and single time that either of us has been noticed happened yesterday on the foreign Bund in Hankow: Miss Liu was called a 'foreign slave' because she argued with some carrying coolie who was hindering Mrs. M's servant, Yet when you talk to people in Hankow they tell you "how perfectly awful is the attitude of Chinese to foreigners these days." The evidence seems to be that they are the authors of the attitude."

November 26

This letter is full of signs of preparation for a general strike (which eventually failed to come off.)

"How we do pray that no incident will start a grand explosion; though it is hard to see how the thing these unions are doing can have any run at all with no incidents. In any other country in the world it would be an act of war to deprive resident aliens of food; the patience of the Western governments this last year or so will go down in history as one of the signs of a new day. There must be an awfully interested power above us to have placed such patient and cool consuls in the hot spots of China these days: one rash or angry action on the part of any one of them, and we'd be in for a world blaze. And when you know the pressure they are under daily from their own nationals, the wonder grows that they resist using their navies."

She describes the fact that the Chinese are now being allowed on the Hankow Bund, and the discouragement of the fact that they are misusing the privilege. "It does seem to me that some more satisfactory way could have been worked out that would recognize the Chinese rights: if all of us, Chinese and foreign alike, who want to use the Bund path, had to apply for a permit, that would satisfy all. Cooperation on such issues would give better results."

"Miss Liu went to the meeting of the local organization of the Women's Movement (connected with the Kuomingtang) yesterday; she wouldn't take me along - she is freer to follow up contacts with being tagged by a foreigner. One speaker, a woman, spoke on The Woman's Movement - said there are five different kinds of women's movements: religious; rights for mothers; political equality; labor; and Revolutionary. You will be interested in what she said about the first - that the Christian women's movement, that is the Y.W.C.A., is an illustration of the first; but this cannot be considered a complete woman's movement because it is 'upper class and well-to-do and intelligent women doing something for less fortunate women, rather than all women working together for one aim'. It is interesting to know what these women lecturers of the Kuomingtang think about our work,



isn't it? Of course, the only complete woman's movement is the Revolutionary Movement. Miss Liu has come back to Wuchang just so eager to be in on all that the various other women's groups are doing and thinking. She sees it as a part of her work, and is going in to it so enthusiastically. Yesterday she told me not to come down as she was taking the whole Y.W.C.A. along with her to this meeting - we have two government school girls, a woman whose husband is in the new government, and one other student there. And when she got to the meeting they put her on the ushers' committee. It's great that she as a Christian is so accepted, for she told us this morning that the Y.W.C.A. secretaries tried to join the Kuomintang but were told they didn't have the qualifications, as they are Christians!"

"We surely aren't sitting around and waiting for the new government or the new party to do something to us. We believe in being on the positive side and going out to them; reporting to them the opening of our work; joining up with this woman's movement; teaching our girls patriotic songs - this morning Miss Tsao remarked, 'The anti-Christians say we aren't patriotic, but see, all our hymnals have many patriotic songs in them!' - and we are asking one of the girls at the Y.W.C.A. who is preparing to enter the government school here to speak tomorrow on 'The Three Principles of the People' at a neighborhood meeting we're having. We don't want to give them a chance at their offensive, but want to go out to meet them more than half way."

November 30.

"I've just come in from a supper party with some Chinese friends, - seven of us, with me the only foreigner, as I realized after we'd been going it about the situation for some time. The one man there wasn't too enthusiastic about the new regime, but we women folk were all able to give a reason for the faith that is in us!"

"I have been to two services at the chapel in Boone University this week, and at both I was surprised and pleased to find the whole sermon given to an enthusiastic estimating of the present situation under the Revolutionary Government, and both these sermons were by foreigners."

# # #

"We literally do not know what a day may bring forth, but most foreigners seem to be expectant rather than worried. It is only fair to add that there are several who thoroughly disagree with me in my estimates of the constructiveness of the new regime. But I know why I am hopeful, and think I've a right to give the government the benefit of all doubts if I choose to! Of course one can find things to criticize; one man told me he was 'lonely'; when I asked why, he said because he was the only person who did not think the South was perfect. But what a foolish attitude - as though anything that's public or human in this world were not subject to criticism!"

December 2. to Margaret MacKirlay.

Yesterday we went to visit the new Women's Movement headquarters and hostel. I loved Miss Liu saying as we met people there, "I wanted to show Miss Russell our headquarters" (she is a member of the movement.) One of the moving spirits, an anti-Christian, is the sister of the chairman of our Student Committee. We both agreed yesterday that we were working for the same things, perhaps by different ways, but that we must waste no effort criticising each other, but rather try to work together. I asked her if I could join. She said, 'No, this is for

# Just after the siege Miss Liu had come down to Shanghai for a small national conference of Y.W.C.A. leaders.

Chinese women', but added that as it was a world movement there might be a foreign women's section later on! One of the handles we Christians have to all this Revolution is that it is world-wide in its scope, and therefore is international, so they can't refuse western interest. All their handbills have on them, no matter what the subject of the bill may be, 'Long live the World Revolution.' There are so many points of the Revolution that are identical with Christianity, that I just am sick when foreigners refuse to see these, but choose to harp on some of the weak points of the new regime. It's not fair. Here the day we all pray for arrives in China, and then we shut our eyes and say, 'But look at this point, - surely you can't approve of that?' when there is the major portion that we can rejoice over."

December 10, to Irene Dean.

"The aeroplane is flying around overhead. I confess I sit here with far different feelings than I had two and more months ago when it flew over us; then we were conscious that we might be dead within a minute, and how we hugged the doorways when it got directly over our house! -- Chiang Kai Shek is due here today with his party, to set up the capital in Tuchang, - hence the aeroplane. The police came around last night and warned the people not to be afraid today if they heard the saluting cannon. Considerate of them, wasn't it.

"The streets are all decorated. Some anti-British posters were up, for the first time, but nothing very hot. We noticed some interesting ones, - first beginnings of a reaction to some of the extreme actions of the new regime, - for instance, labor posters saying they did not want to be 'run' by their unions. It is encouraging that people are beginning publicly to express their disapproval.

# # #

"Mr. and Mrs. Wu, both London Mission teachers who live on our compound, took the examinations last week for the school which is training people to be government lecturers and trainers. They were asked if they were Christians, and when they said yes, - 'Too bad,' said the official. 'Why?' said Mr. Wu, 'You won't pass.' Whereupon Mr. Wu said he guessed he was as much a Chinese citizen as anybody and he would like to know why he couldn't pass; that if they would study the Bible for themselves they would know what they were talking about; that they could be against foreigners on various accounts if they wished to, but they had no right to be against Christianity. I get thrilled when Chinese Christians get up enough courage to speak up like this.

# # #

"Things are a hundred percent easier this week than last." (For example) "The Chinese clerks employed in foreign firms have formed a union of their own, they objected to being dictated to by the coolie unions, and they say expressly that one of their two purposes is 'friendly relations and understanding with the foreigners in this port.' -- That the more intelligent groups, such as the merchants and clerks, are beginning to be articulate is the most hopeful thing; things did look bad when only the lowest classes of workers were making all the noise."

(This is a good point at which to interpolate something from a letter written on December 5 to Miss Liu, to our Student Department, about her connection with the Women's Association of the Kuomintang, and about the training school referred to just above. After joining the Association, she says (translation), "I took this opportunity to know the members and show them that Christians

can be patriotic just the same. The members are mostly students and teachers. I now have this opportunity to become acquainted with them and to break down the barrier between Christians and anti-Christians. There are about 1000 women in the membership." She then describes the "Institute of Military and Political Science" established in Wuchang by the Kuomintang, which has 1000 men students and 200 women students. "The students will be graduated in half a year, and after that they will do propaganda work. The girl students all have to bob their hair, for otherwise they will not be admitted".)

December 11. to Irene Dean.

From Maud Russell again.

"All Boone University had a holiday yesterday to welcome the Southern Government officials. Mr. S. said all the speakers were called together the night before and told there was not to be a word against Christianity in their talks! Three of the five members of the Nationalist Commission (they have a commission form of national government) are Christians. Mrs. Sun Yat Sen and young Mr. Sun are here, also George Hsu. Chiang Kai Shek hasn't come yet. I'm sorry I didn't go out to see the doings yesterday; Mr. and Mrs. S. watched it from Serpent Hill; said that all the banners flying made it seem like a pageant of old.

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EXTRACTS FROM TRANSLATIONS OF

THREE MONTHS OF HANDBILLS

In Wuchang, China

Covering:

The Siege of Wuchang  
Opening the City  
Welcome to the Revolution  
"Get-Together" of People and Soldiers  
Birthday of Sun Yat-Sen  
Welcome to the Nationalist Officials  
and Advisor Borodin, etc.

Translated by some of the staff of the  
Wuchang YWCA

December 18, 1926.

NOTE

The following material is a very free translation of some of the posters recently used in the Wuhan cities, made by Miss Russell and Miss Tsao of the Wuchang Y.W.C.A. staff during time when conditions in Wuchang made it impossible to carry on regular work.

For the benefit of some in other countries into whose hands this material may come, it should perhaps be explained that the city of Wuchang, just across the Yangtze River from Hankow, was taken by the southern army on October 10, 1926 (the anniversary of the founding of the Republic) after a forty-day siege. The incoming forces are here variously referred to as: the Revolutionary Army, the Kuomintang, the National Government, the Central Government, the Northern Expedition (i.e., from Canton north to Wuchang), etc.

January 3, <sup>1927</sup>~~1926~~.

Publication Department,  
National Committee Y.W.C.A.,  
1 Young Allen Court, Shanghai.

The General Headquarters of the Revolutionary Army to The People and Soldiers  
Within the city of Wuchang.

October 10th, 1926

An appeal to all citizens to:  
Do no work  
Start no business  
Open no schools  
Until the city wall is down.

An appeal to people within the city who have been through the siege -  
To be careful about eating: do not begin immediately to eat  
hard rice again, but still continue to eat soft rice and  
gradually get onto the hard rice diet - in order to avoid  
sickness.

October 13th and 15th, 1926

The Welcome to the New Revolutionary Government and the "Get Together" of  
People and Soldiers.

The Fourth Army Administration to the People of Wuhan:

Up to this time to see a soldier was like a rat seeing a cat.  
You were so afraid you couldn't run fast. If you couldn't  
escape you could only pitifully say "Most exalted sir". But  
this time of fear is over now; now you can play under the  
"blue sky and the white sun" (the Kuomintang flag). We sold-  
iers of the Fourth Army are from the factories, fields, shops  
and schools. Because we were oppressed we joined the Army.  
We and you, although our clothes are different (uniforms),  
have the same spirit. We aren't "Most exalted sirs": we're  
your soldier friends. We hope that you will spread the word  
that together we are fighting our enemies - Imperialism,  
militarism, bad officials, grafters, great landowners. Be-  
cause of the joy of this little rejoicing don't forget your  
enemies and the suffering you've had.  
Work for a National Assembly. Do away with unequal treaties.  
Unite!

Fifteenth Army administration:

We are sorry you had to suffer because it took us so long to  
take Wuchang. For fifteen years you have suffered under the  
North and for forty days you suffered in the city - fear,  
hunger, and looting. We are happy that on October 10th you  
were freed under the "blue sky and the white sun".  
Though we were happy to get the city open, we were unhappy to  
see the pitiful people both inside and outside the city. The  
Revolutionary Army must get rid of this suffering of the people.  
The Revolutionary Army is the organization of the Kuomintang;  
its purpose is to train and prepare and fight for the people.

We and the people are one - in our sorrows, peace, and danger, in getting rid of all hindrances, in getting filled life, in freeing all from imperialism and militarism. The light of the Revolution has come to Wuchang; Chokiang has declared its independence; Fukien is taken; Sun Chuan-Fan can't move; the governor of Fukien has fled by sea; the rest (Honan, Shansi, and Szechuan) have recently been taken. All form in groups and strengthen the Revolutionary Army! We can easily solve the difficulties in Hupoh. Imperialism and militarism disappear before our faces.

Fourth Army Administration:

We have taken Wuchang; we must-

Protect business

Get rid of suffering and heavy taxes for the people.

Establish right of free speech for the people

Protect people's groups and help them to increase

Have a People's Assembly

Set up good officials

Get rid of bad things - do what the people want

All unite and enter the Kuomintang!

Oppose Wu!

Oppose imperialism!

Catchwords and Mottos:

Farmers, Workers, Merchants, Students, Soldiers Unite and Arise!

The military and the People Together!

Strengthen the Revolutionary in its new territory!

The Official Power Belongs to the People of the Revolution!

Set Up a Clean Government!

Kick Out the Grafters!

Spread the Teachings of the Party!

Foster the Farmers' and Workers' Good!

Reform the Government of Wuchang!

Quickly Have a People's Assembly!

Do Away With Unequal Treaties!

Destroy Militarism!

Foster the Kuomintang!

Foster the Republican Government!

Cheers for the Freedom of the People of Hupoh!

Cheers for the Anniversary of Taking Down Wuchang's Wall!

Cheers for the Victory of the Revolutionary Army!

Cheers for the Kuomintang!

Cheers for the People's Government!

November 12th, 1926

Birthday of Sun Yat-Son#

Wuchang Merchants to their Fellow Merchants of Wuchang:

How can we thank Sun Wen for being our leader and sacrificing

# Also referred to as Sun Wen.

to get freedom for us? We merchants because of him are freed from the economic invasion of imperialism and freed from the extortions of bad officials and the military. Do we merchants want peace? Can we understand Sun Wen's spirit? Can we embrace his meaning? His Three Principles, his Five Constitutional Powers, his Setting up a Government, his "An Outline of Government", his National Assembly, his "cancel-the-unequal-treaties" - all are to help the people. Do we have this spirit? - today, in this memorial meeting? Now that the Revolutionary Army has come - what good will it do the farmers and workers? What is their condition? Their progress is because of Sun Wen's spirit. We merchants have been almost crushed by militarism: we must free ourselves. How? - Must stand on Sun Wen's principles. Imperialism still oppresses us. Heavy taxes and extortions still oppress us. How shall we get rid of these? How shall we profit? We must find ways of carrying out Sun's principles. Down with our enemies!

#### Store Clerks Union of Wuchang.

Though Sun Wen is dead his spirit is with us. Sun Wen is the representative of all classes; he is the leader in getting our national freedom. Sun set up the Kuomintang. Before 1924 he saw a reactionary movement in it, a right wing. So he reorganized it. At the same time he saw the seven years' success of Soviet Russia. The success of Soviet Russia was the fruit of the Communist Party leading the workers and farmers in class strife. After the success of the Russian Revolution they wanted to help all minorities and all exploited lands and all revolutions. Sun saw this clearly so he united with Soviet Russia and united with the Communist Party and laborers and farmers, because he knew the Chinese revolution was a large unit in the world revolution; he saw that all class strife leaders must come from the no-property class. The present success of the Northern Expedition is most important evidence of Sun's revolution. Leaders of the Revolution in China ought to be from the farmers' and workers' class, in order to succeed; but these have not taken responsibility of leadership, though they have helped a great deal in the various provinces. We store clerks ought to organize ourselves and help the government. We have suffered: we have inherited oppression from the employers, we work fifteen hours a day, and our wages are only a few dollars (not more than ten) a month, and the employers can dismiss us at will, also they are unwilling to let us study. The apprentices suffer even more: they come from poor homes which put them out to work; for three years they work without pay; and their work is carrying water, tending babies, and running errands; they get only a few hundred cash a month: it's not human! We ought to organize to be free to speak out. We ought to strive with our employers to get rid of these sufferings.



Boone College and Boone Middle School

Why do we keep this day?

Because Sun Wen was the leader of the Revolution.

Because Sun Wen was not afraid of 40 years' work for our good.

Because Sun Wen awoke us to the drug of the military system  
and led the Revolution on the road of success.

Because Sun Wen gave us "People's Nationalism", "People's Sovereignty"  
"People's Livelihood".

How shall we show our enthusiasm and reverence for Sun Wen?

By meeting to remember his great personality, strength, example.

By going on in his undying spirit to accomplish his purpose.

Words without meaning are an insult to his spirit - so we must:

Unite with all classes within and without the country

Awake the people to unite and oppose all imperialism

Arise and do away with all unequal treaties

Carry out in government his "Three Principles"

Have popular education.

Help the Women's Movement for Freedom.

The Fourth Army Administration

Sun is our leader and hero: we must revere him: not only by shouting  
catchwords and putting out handbills (this is our duty); not only  
reverence him, as we do Confucius (he would not like us to worship  
him): we must get and follow his purpose, and with all strength  
advance.

He saw clearly the background of our times and the way to solve our  
problems: during forty years he was tireless.

If we want to truly reverence him we will carry out without delay his  
"Three Principles."

Wuhan is the political and economic centre of China

In history, leaders have fought at Wuchang

The First Revolution reached Wuchang, but they didn't succeed  
for the cruel Northerners came in; now they are driven out and  
the Revolution is accomplished at Wuchang; we must therefore  
rejoice.

This is only a partial success - just a military victory: the ideal  
of Sun Wen is not yet accomplished; His aim was equality and freedom  
for China; every day China was not free he was not happy; we have  
responsibilities which are not yet fulfilled.

Although Wuhan is taken, although Wu and Sun are driven out, there are  
still many who oppose the Revolution; the Northerners (around the  
Yellow River) are still under militarism and imperialism: quickly  
arise and save them!

December 10th, 1926

The Welcome to the Nationalist Officials and Advisor Borodin

Wuchang City Second District, Third Branch

Our Revolutionary leaders, the leaders of the republic, Advisor  
Borodin and Mrs. Sun have now come to Wuchang, and we enthusiastically

tically show forth our welcome. Why? Because they are Revolutionary leaders; they are the people's officials; they seek the people's good; their coming is the first sound of moving the government to Wuchang; the moving of the government to the centre of the Yangtze Valley means we can directly reduce the sphere of British imperialism; the moving the government to Wuchang means they can direct the attack on militarism; their moving to Wuchang means they can reform the city government of Wuhan.

People of Wuchang! - do you understand the important meaning of the above? We must arise in groups; we must help the officials, steady the officials to go the road of equality and freedom, so that in the near future we can realize our hopes. Arise quickly! Arise quickly!

#### Woman's Movement of Hupeh

We women of Hupeh for several thousand years have suffered under political, economic, and legal oppression. Propriety, ethics, and all sorts of social customs and habits have bound us. Long ago we lost our rights as humans. From whom has this suffering come? It was because we ourselves didn't apply ourselves, we didn't know how to unite and strive, and fight for our rights as humans. At the same time the sphere of darkness meant oppression for us, like a deep root that couldn't be budged - so for several thousand years we were more things, useless things in society.

Now that the Revolution has extended to Hupeh, and the National Government Committee have come, we want to welcome them, because they are the people's officials, because they have given the people freedom from suffering, and because they seek the people's good. Our suffering was so very deep that we have limitless hope in these officials; we believe they will give us economic and political equality with the men; that they will revise the unequal laws; that they will do away with all laws that harm or hinder women, and will protect the rights of women; that they will get rid of the terrible proprieties and ethics and all the bad things that have bound women. We especially believe that, following the plans of the Kuomintang, this government can help women to have utter equality, economically, politically, and legally, with the men.

Fellow women of Hupeh! This is our chance to seek freedom and equality. A thousand times over, we don't want to lose this opportunity. In the midst of this political freedom we want to spread and strengthen our organization. We want to foster our ability so that we can stand under the banner of the Woman's Movement. Strive to get our rightful benefits. Fellow women - we want to remember "In union is strength". So we want to unite our various groups, to watch that the officials give women their political benefits, so that the good for which we strive can be enjoyed by others.

Fellow women - in this great meeting of welcome and joy we must use our strength, set up our groups, and add ten thousand times to our strivings. Our mottoes are:

Away with old laws!  
Set up a new constitution!

Decide upon women's property rights!  
Spread the laws against foot-binding!  
Widen the movement for the education of the country women!  
Establish a woman's law school!  
Set up penalties for selling women and taking secondary wives!  
Away with old proprieties, ethics, and social customs that bind women!  
Freedom of marriage and divorce!  
Establish supplementary schools for farmers, workers, and women!  
Let all organizations as far as possible take in social service workers!  
Set up public institutions for poor children!  
Carry out the latest political plans of the Kuomintang!  
Cheers for the people of China!  
Cheers for the officials of China!

#### Wuchang City Division of the Kuomintang

Dearly loved fellow citizens of Wuchang: our unspeakable happiness and limitless joy has come within the last two or three months: there has been no end of the news of military victories: this has come to our ears from the South - the high flood of the Revolution is very deep. The atmosphere of the Revolution has already poured in. These many victories of the South are the beginning of the new China. Sun's forty years of striving were seeking peace and equality for China. The reign of imperialism and the Northern militarists hindered the carrying out of his principles. A reactionary force was for a long time in China, until now. The victory of the Northern Expedition is the fulfilment of his last will, to take Wuhan. After this military victory we must have a political victory, and a people's victory. We follow Sun's purpose and take upon ourselves the responsibility of accomplishing peace and equality for China. This central Executive Committee is the highest organization for carrying out Sun's policies. They have now decided to move to Wuchang; they want in the centre of China, to lead the comrades of the entire country, and with all strength do the work of the Revolution. Oppose our enemies! These officials are China's highest political organization: they are Sun's heritage; they have decided to move to Wuchang and set up the national government here and make China free and peaceful.

Those members of the Central Committee of the Government are the leaders of the Revolution. Advisor Borodin is our dearly loved friend. He is a comrade who links us in strength to the Soviet; he is a leader of the World Revolution. He has put forth great effort in helping China's Revolutionary Movement. On all sides is the sound of military victory. The leaders of the Revolution in China and the leaders of the World Revolution have all come to Wuhan which was held by the Northern militarists so many years. We Wuhan people are almost beside ourselves with joy.

All we comrades of Wuhan, representing all the oppressed ones of Wuchang welcome the members of the Central Government Committee and Advisor Borodin and show forth our great and grateful welcome, and hope that we will put forth more strength in making Wuhan revolutionary, and supporting this new stand of the Revolution, so

that we can make a new China, and a unified world. We enthusiastically shout:

Those officials seek the good of the people!  
Those officials oppose imperialism!  
Those officials are our leader's (Sun) heritage!  
This is a strong government!  
Back up Sun's policy of union with Soviet Russia!  
Back up Sun's farmer and labor policy!  
Make Wuhan revolutionary!  
Oppose imperialism!  
Oppose the militarism of Fengtien!  
Strengthen this new stand of the Revolution!  
Cheers for the officials!  
Cheers for the Kuomintang!  
Cheers for the finishing of the Revolution!  
Cheers for the accomplishing of the World Revolution!

Various Groups Whose Interests Have Been Put Before the People in Handbills on the Foregoing Occasions.

By the Alumni of the Ho Hai Industrial College of Hupoh

"Hupoh's Most Immediate Danger". Our common enemy, militarism, has already been done away with, and we have got rid of grafting officials. Today we come to this great welcome and uniting meeting and it surely is worth while; we truly are all happy.

We however want to think with you about the immediate calamities: there are two kinds: one is the adversities we get from men; and one is the natural calamities. Now we have got rid of militarism and we have cleaned up Hupoh, and we can say the adversities we suffer from men are put out. But think about last year's and this Spring's drought: for a thousand li around there were not even bark, grass, nor roots to eat - ten thousand times worse than grafting officials, and ten thousand times worse than the hunger during the recent siege of Wuchang; even up to now no one has undertaken to manage irrigation, and repair the great damage of this calamity.

The floods of two years ago and of this summer were like the sea, like black night falling on us, killing men in the midst of their dreams; houses and implements were scattered; those who escaped death had neither food, clothes, nor dwelling - in each hsien unknown millions - many more than war with its bombs and cannon balls. Still no one has gone out to repair the water ways and the dikes and to give help in this great calamity.

Fellow men - the adversities from men are done away with and we are glad of that. Natural calamities haven't gone; the danger in Hupoh is still great. We won't discuss drought - just speak about floods: the dikes of the Han River and Yangtze River districts are already broken beyond recognition; and winter is soon here; the people are scattered to East and West because of war; the suffering lies before our eyes, we don't need to speak of it: but how about next year? - the millions of soldiers, the millions of people - what will they eat? What will they wear? What will they use? Isn't this our most immediate danger? A critical problem? Fellow citizens - don't you feel the officials and the people of the province ought not to

allow any delay.... Go on the principle of "in peace think of danger" - so at this get-together meeting we bring up this matter for all to notice.

(October 25, 1926)

Wuchang Kuomintang - to help the students who left Central China Teachers' Union Normal School (Christian)

The imperialists have used the chloroform of a cultural invasion. In China they have opened not a few schools where this chloroform is sold. The fruit of these schools, other than a few foreign slave graduates are a few patriotic students who have all been driven out.

Now the foreign teachers of Central China Teachers Union Normal School and their running dogs, without the least respect, have cleared out the whole body of students. What is the background of this? Two things: first, imperialism is alarmed: because their invasion of the Yangtze Valley has stirred up opposition, so they are giving up this cultural invasion and have closed the school; secondly, there is the rise of the Revolution so they now feel Chinese students are not easily chloroformed, so they hasten to close their school.

These Central China Teachers Union Normal School students have awakened and freed themselves from the imperialists' cultural invasion: this is a part of "the people's nationalism" - an important instance of passive resistance to imperialism. We must pay attention to this.

The Kuomintang of the Special Administrative District of Hankow: Re the Cruelties of British Imperialism.

In the eyes of British imperialism our China is just something for them to gradually eat. With savage hearts these British imperialists use gunboats to kill, and recently they have added more.

On September 4th British marines went ashore at Canton and caught the pickets.

On September at Washsien they killed more than ever - over twenty passengers were killed. They used twelve shots of a kind forbidden by international law. Five thousand people were crushed to ashes; several thousand homes were burned.

In Hankow the British Cigarette Company, without reason, stopped work - they were just looking for a reason to stir up the peace of Wuhan and to destroy the central sphere of the Revolution.

In the British Concession they have prepared a strict method of handling the workers; they have organized a spy system, they have a secret killing squad, they have volunteers, they have a food committee for future emergencies; everywhere they are preparing sandbags and electric nets, and many machines, guns, and bullets as if they had a great enemy, this is the true face of British imperialism.

A telegram from Peking states that the British have given over to Chang Tso-Ling 24 persons.

The British Government has suddenly called thirty seven gunboats to various places in China, also an airplane and nine special craft. -

The graves of our fellows of the Shanghai affair of May 30th are still not dry.

NOTE

The following material is a very free translation of some of the posters recently used in the Wuhan cities, made by Miss Russell and Miss Tsao of the Wuchang Y.W.C.A. staff during time when conditions in Wuchang made it impossible to carry on regular work.

For the benefit of some in other countries into whose hands this material may come, it should perhaps be explained that the city of Wuchang, just across the Yangtze River from Hankow, was taken by the southern army on October 10, 1926 (the anniversary of the founding of the Republic) after a forty-day siege. The incoming forces are here variously referred to as: the Revolutionary Army, the Kuomintang, the National Government, the Central Government, the Northern Expedition (i.e., from Canton north to Wuchang), etc.

January 3, <sup>1927</sup>~~1926~~.

Publication Department,  
National Committee Y.W.C.A.,  
1 Young Allen Court, Shanghai.

The General Headquarters of the Revolutionary Army to The People and Soldiers  
Within the city of Wuchang.

October 10th, 1926

An appeal to all citizens to:

Do no work  
Start no business  
Open no schools  
Until the city wall is down.

An appeal to people within the city who have been through the siege -  
To be careful about eating: do not begin immediately to eat  
hard rice again, but still continue to eat soft rice and  
gradually get onto the hard rice diet - in order to avoid  
sickness.

October 13th and 15th, 1926

The Welcome to the New Revolutionary Government and the "Get Together" of  
People and Soldiers.

The Fourth Army Administration to the People of Wuhan:

Up to this time to see a soldier was like a rat seeing a cat.  
You were so afraid you couldn't run fast. If you couldn't  
escape you could only pitifully say "Most exalted sir". But  
this time of fear is over now; now you can play under the  
"blue sky and the white sun" (the Kuomintang flag). We sold-  
iers of the Fourth Army are from the factories, fields, shops  
and schools. Because we were oppressed we joined the Army.  
We and you, although our clothes are different (uniforms),  
have the same spirit. We aren't "Most exalted sirs": we're  
your soldier friends. We hope that you will spread the word  
that together we are fighting our enemies - imperialism,  
militarism, bad officials, grafters, great landowners. Be-  
cause of the joy of this little rejoicing don't forget your  
enemies and the suffering you've had.  
Work for a National Assembly. Do away with unequal treaties.  
Unite!

Fifteenth Army Administration:

We are sorry you had to suffer because it took us so long to  
take Wuchang. For fifteen years you have suffered under the  
North and for forty days you suffered in the city - fear,  
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were freed under the "blue sky and the white sun".  
Though we were happy to get the city open, we were unhappy to  
see the pitiful people both inside and outside the city. The  
Revolutionary Army must get rid of this suffering of the people.  
The Revolutionary Army is the organization of the Kuomintang;  
its purpose is to train and prepare and fight for the people.

We and the people are one - in our sorrows, peace, and danger,  
in getting rid of all hindrances, in getting filled life, in  
freeing all from imperialism and militarism!  
The light of the Revolution has come to Wuchang; Chokiang has  
declared its independence; Fukien is taken; Sun Chuan-Fan can't  
move; the governor of Fukien has fled by sea; the rest (Honan,  
Shansi, and Szechuen) have recently been taken.  
All form in groups and strengthen the Revolutionary Army!  
We can easily solve the difficulties in Hupeh.  
Imperialism and militarism disappear before our faces.

Fourth Army Administration:

We have taken Wuchang; we must-  
Protect business  
Get rid of suffering and heavy taxes for the people.  
Establish right of free speech for the people  
Protect people's groups and help them to increase  
Have a People's Assembly  
Set up good officials  
Get rid of bad things - do what the people want  
All unite and enter the Kuomintang!  
Oppose Wu!  
Oppose imperialism!

Catchwords and Mottos:

Farmers, Workers, Merchants, Students, Soldiers Unite and Arise!  
The military and the People Together!  
Strengthen the Revolutionary in its new territory!  
The Official Power Belongs to the People of the Revolution!  
Set Up a Clean Government!  
Kick Out the Grafters!  
Spread the Teachings of the Party!  
Foster the Farmers' and Workers' Good!  
Reform the Government of Wuchang!  
Quickly Have a People's Assembly!  
Do Away With Unequal Treaties!  
Destroy Militarism!  
Foster the Kuomintang!  
Foster the Republican Government!  
Cheers for the Freedom of the People of Hupeh!  
Cheers for the Anniversary of Taking Down Wuchang's Wall!  
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Cheers for the Kuomintang!  
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November 12th, 1926

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How can we thank Sun Wen for being our leader and sacrificing

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to get freedom for us? We merchants because of him are freed from the economic invasion of imperialism and freed from the extortions of bad officials and the military. Do we merchants want peace? Can we understand Sun Wen's spirit? Can we embrace his meaning? His Three Principles, his Five Constitutional Powers, his Setting up a Government, his "An Outline of Government", his National Assembly, his "cancel-the-unequal-treaties" - all are to help the people. Do we have this spirit? - today, in this memorial meeting? Now that the Revolutionary Army has come - what good will it do the farmers and workers? What is their condition? Their progress is because of Sun Wen's spirit. We merchants have been almost crushed by militarism: we must free ourselves. How? - Must stand on Sun Wen's principles. Imperialism still oppresses us. Heavy taxes and extortions still oppress us. How shall we get rid of those? How shall we profit? We must find ways of carrying out Sun's principles. Down with our enemies!

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Fellow women of Hupeh! This is our chance to seek freedom and equality. A thousand times over, we don't want to lose this opportunity. In the midst of this political freedom we want to spread and strengthen our organization. We want to foster our ability so that we can stand under the banner of the Woman's Movement. Strive to get our rightful benefits. Fellow women - we want to remember "In union is strength". So we want to unite our various groups, to watch that the officials give women their political benefits, so that the good for which we strive can be enjoyed by others.

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Set up new constitution!

Decide upon women's property rights!  
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Establish a woman's law school!  
Set up penalties for selling women and taking secondary wives!  
Away with old proprieties, ethics, and social customs that bind women!  
Freedom of marriage and divorce!  
Establish supplementary schools for farmers, workers, and women!  
Let all organizations as far as possible take in social service workers!  
Set up public institutions for poor children!  
Carry out the latest political plans of the Kuomintang!  
Cheers for the people of China!  
Cheers for the officials of China!

Wuchang City Division of the Kuomintang

Dearly loved fellow citizens of Wuchang: our unspeakable happiness and limitless joy has come within the last two or three months: there has been no end of the news of military victories: this has come to our ears from the South - the high flood of the Revolution is very deep. The atmosphere of the Revolution has already poured in. These many victories of the South are the beginning of the new China. Sun's forty years of striving were seeking peace and equality for China. The reign of imperialism and the Northern militarists hindered the carrying out of his principles. A reactionary force was for a long time in China, until now. The victory of the Northern Expedition is the fulfilment of his last will, to take Wuhan. After this military victory we must have a political victory, and a people's victory. We follow Sun's purpose and take upon ourselves the responsibility of accomplishing peace and equality for China. This central Executive Committee is the highest organization for carrying out Sun's policies. They have now decided to move to Wuchang; they want in the centre of China, to lead the comrades of the entire country, and with all strength do the work of the Revolution. Oppose our enemies! These officials are China's highest political organization: they are Sun's heritage; they have decided to move to Wuchang and set up the national government here and make China free and peaceful.

Those members of the Central Committee of the Government are the leaders of the Revolution. Advisor Borodin is our dearly loved friend. He is a comrade who links us in strength to the Soviet; he is a leader of the World Revolution. He has put forth great effort in helping China's Revolutionary Movement. On all sides is the sound of military victory. The leaders of the Revolution in China and the leaders of the World Revolution have all come to Wuhan which was held by the Northern militarists so many years. We Wuhan people are almost beside ourselves with joy.

All we comrades of Wuhan, representing all the oppressed ones of Wuchang welcome the members of the Central Government Committee and Advisor Borodin and show forth our great and grateful welcome, and hope that we will put forth more strongly in making Wuhan revolutionary, and supporting this new stand of the Revolution, so

that we can make a new China, and a unified world. We enthusiastically shout:

Those officials seek the good of the people!  
Those officials oppose imperialism!  
Those officials are our leader's (Sun) heritage!  
This is a strong government!  
Back up Sun's policy of union with Soviet Russia!  
Back up Sun's farmer and labor policy!  
Make Wuhan revolutionary!  
Oppose imperialism!  
Oppose the militarism of Fongtien!  
Strengthen this now stand of the Revolution!  
Cheers for the officials!  
Cheers for the Kuomintang!  
Cheers for the finishing of the Revolution!  
Cheers for the accomplishing of the World Revolution!

Various Groups Whose Interests Have Been Put Before the People in Handbills on the Foregoing Occasions.

By the Alumni of the Ho Hai Industrial College of Hupoh

"Hupoh's Most Immediate Danger". Our common enemy, militarism, has already been done away with, and we have got rid of grafting officials. Today we come to this great welcome and uniting meeting and it surely is worth while; we truly are all happy.

We however want to think with you about the immediate calamities: there are two kinds: one is the adversities we get from men; and one is the natural calamities. Now we have got rid of militarism and we have cleaned up Hupoh, and we can say the adversities we suffer from men are put out. But think about last year's and this Spring's drought: for a thousand li around there were not even bark, grass, nor roots to eat - ten thousand times worse than grafting officials, and ten thousand times worse than the hunger during the recent siege of Wuchang; even up to now no one has undertaken to manage irrigation, and repair the great damage of this calamity.

The floods of two years ago and of this summer were like the sea, like black night falling on us, killing men in the midst of their dreams; houses and implements were scattered; those who escaped death had neither food, clothes, nor dwelling - in each hsien unknown millions - many more than war with its bombs and cannon balls. Still no one has gone out to repair the water ways and the dikes and to give help in this great calamity.

Fellow men - the adversities from men are done away with and we are glad of that. Natural calamities haven't gone; the danger in Hupoh is still great. We won't discuss drought - just speak about floods: the dikes of the Han River and Yangtze River districts are already broken beyond recognition; and winter is soon here; the people are scattered to East and West because of war; the suffering lies before our eyes, we don't need to speak of it: but how about next year? - the millions of soldiers, the millions of people - what will they eat? What will they wear? What will they use? Isn't this our most immediate danger? A critical problem? Fellow citizens - don't you feel the officials and the people of the province ought not to

allow any delay.... Go on the principle of "in peace think of danger" - so at this get-together meeting we bring up this matter for all to notice.

(October 25, 1926)

Wuchang Kuomintang - to help the students who left Central China Teachers' Union Normal School (Christian)

The imperialists have used the chloroform of a cultural invasion, In China they have opened not a few schools where this chloroform is sold. The fruit of these schools, other than a few foreign slave graduates are a few patriotic students who have all been driven out.

Now the foreign teachers of Central China Teachers Union Normal School and their running dogs, without the least respect, have cleared out the whole body of students. What is the background of this? Two things: first, imperialism is alarmed: because their invasion of the Yangtze Valley has stirred up opposition, so they are giving up this cultural invasion and have closed the school; secondly, there is the rise of the Revolution so they now feel Chinese students are not easily chloroformed, so they hasten to close their school.

These Central China Teachers Union Normal School students have awakened and freed themselves from the imperialists' cultural invasion: this is a part of "the people's nationalism" - an important instance of passive resistance to imperialism. We must pay attention to this.

The Kuomintang of the Special Administrative District of Hankow: Re the Cruelties of British Imperialism.

In the eyes of British imperialism our China is just something for them to gradually eat. With savage hearts these British imperialists use gunboats to kill, and recently they have added more.

On September 4th British marines went ashore at Canton and caught the pickets.

On September at Washsien they killed more than ever - over twenty passengers were killed. They used twelve shots of a kind forbidden by international law. Five thousand people were crushed to ashes; several thousand homes were burned.

In Hankow the British Cigarette Company, without reason, stopped work - they were just looking for a reason to stir up the peace of Wuhan and to destroy the central sphere of the Revolution.

In the British Concession they have prepared a strict method of handling the workers; they have organized a spy system, they have a secret killing squad, they have volunteers, they have a food committee for future emergencies; everywhere they are preparing sandbags and electric nets, and many marines, guns, and bullets as if they had a great enemy, this is the true face of British imperialism.

A telegram from Peking states that the British have given over to Chang Tso-Ling 24 persons.

The British Government has suddenly called thirty seven gunboats to various places in China, also an airplane and nine special craft.

The graves of our fellows of the Shanghai affair of May 30th are still not dry.

*used in print!*

(Free Translation of First Draft of a Handbill to be Issued by the Wuhan Christians' Union)

A Draft of An Announcement of the Wuhan Christians' Reform Movement  
December 27, 1926.

Fellow countrymen and fellow believers: we are all a part of the Republic of China. We, because we were not satisfied under the old religious systems, therefore believed in Christianity. But because this has come from foreign countries it has therefore, as a matter of history, unfortunately had many relationships with imperialism, so that there have grown up not a few wrongs. For instance, as we today stand under the flag of "the blue sky and clear day" as free citizens, no longer under the oppression of the "effete officials", all the more do we feel our own great responsibility for saving our country; and so we want to express our attitude clearly.

We recognize that the Revolution has come from the leadership of the Kuomintang, that great and good force that is saving the country and saving the people. Because of this we must support the officials of the Revolution and support the Revolutionary Army, and also believe that The Three Principles of the People, the Plan of Setting Up a Country, and their internal and foreign policies are the only way of freeing the people and saving the country; we especially are willing to enter the Revolutionary Movement, to use our strength to work. In relation to foreign countries, if we oppose imperialism and international capitalism, we shall be able to set up in the world an equal and independent country. With respect to our own country we want to oppose the bad system of militarism, to lift the life of the farmers and workers, to build a just and progressive, social order where the people shall have enough to eat and wear and be happy. We must foster the accomplishment of a world-wide revolution, people's equality, human brotherhood, and the final purpose of a united group.

*B* Jesus' idea that freedom, equality, love, sacrifice, service, religion, - these things and sin could never be in agreement - is fundamentally a kind of revolutionary dynamic. In the past there have been not a few of our fellow believers who have striven for the Revolution, some who have been leaders, and some who have sacrificed themselves, and today both among the officials of the country and in the Revolutionary Army they are leaders, some being soldiers and some doing other kinds of Revolutionary work: there is no want of clever men. We recognize them as good examples of true Christians, think of these former worthies and leaders who cause us to be courageous and make us ourselves strive in our burden of saving the country. We must make fundamental, in our own work for the Revolution, Jesus' revolutionary spirit of opposing the Pharisaism of his day, the binding of old religions, the oppression of the people by the class struggle for wealth and position, even to the sacrificing of his own body on the cross.

There is still something that we must admit: that is, that we deeply realize that imperialism is not only the great enemy of the people's government, but it is the great enemy of Christianity. In history it has constantly exploited the church to add to its own powers, until Christianity was so awakened as to seek reformation and free those who were under its oppression. In the far past they hindered Morrison when he came to China to preach; today there are some missionaries who do speak out for the movement to free the people, and they have run against the dislike of these imperialists, and this has given rise to conflict. The officials at Hongkong, because Christian publications favored the freedom of the people and opposed imperialism, forbade these to enter the port. Within the church are those students of new theology who favor the saving of the country and improving society,

and they have had to bear perverse opposition and be looked upon as "rod in their theology". And more recently, the imperialists in their own country have publicly criticised the work of the missionaries, saying they are the initiators of the present Chinese Revolution and the opponents of imperialism: It is because imperialism in its own nature and equally in history is in mutual opposition to basic Christianity: it is our great enemy; Christianity has been taken captive by it, and truly with the weaker peoples and with the no-property class has been bound and has met hardship. We today must stand up and oppose them (imperialists) not only in seeking the freedom of the people, but also in order to free our religion itself.

A We are very happy that the National Christian Council has already made known its approval of doing away with all unequal treaties and has so announced itself; we back up this resolution. We do not want our Christianity established on a basis of gun-beat policy, and we especially do not approve of military force to back up the Gospel. It is because of the policy of this kind of invasion and because of the basic nature of military force, that there has come the anti-Christian purpose. Christianity can have as its basis only the personality and character of the disciple and the fruits of saving the world, the nation, and the individual, and it must be backed up by the disciple's willingness to sacrifice his blood. We, if we become Christians, are misunderstood and opposed: we also do not want these unequal treaties, that destroy our country and exterminate races, to be the protector of Christianity. If there are foreign missionaries who love their own country more than they love Christ, or if they are not willing to approve and help us Revolutionaries, then please will they quickly go home. We will just strive for independence, to make Christianity at an early date leave the foreigners' prop, forever to cut off its relationship with imperialism.

Concerning the matter of getting back educational rights: we not only approve of this, but we will use our strength to accomplish this. We want all our Christian schools to belong to, and be managed by, the Chinese church, and to be under the control of the Chinese officials, and to be established and run according to the Chinese educational orders and school system.

Finally; in respect to the anti-Christian movement which is fostered by some of our fellow countrymen, we must say a few words: the inner characteristics of Christianity are very complex: necessarily many of these have come down from past times; historically, some do not fit our national temperament, are not our way of doing things, do not fit our movements. Moreover, within our religion there are some people who violate the teachings of our religion and defeat its purpose, bringing shame to the whole religion. We, on the one hand, recognize that this is a fault that is unavoidable in any large group, and at the same time, we recognize it as our weakness and sin. One of the first words of Jesus, the founder of our religion, was that we must repent. So in relation to the anti-Christian movement we recognize them as our "reproving friends"; in relation to their criticisms we yield to the traditional teaching# - "if at fault, reform; if not, then go on with all the more diligence". On the outside, we receive this stern and heavy scrutinizing; from within, we accept the urging to our duty to save the country and save the world. There will only be striving to advance the Christian reformation movement: on the negative side we shall reconstruct our system, theology, work, and methods; on the positive side, we will make it accord with the national temperament, a religion that serves the people. At the same time we shall exert our strength to preserve religious freedom, determining that no pressure of authority, force, slander, or ridicule shall make us throw over our peace and our faith in the Lord. We are willing like Cromwell to be Christians to save our country: we are not willing to betray our Lord as Judas did, for glory. Give attention to these words.

# (From Confucius)



C O N F I D E N T I A L

Notes on a two-day meeting called on January 6 and 7 by the  
National Christian Council to discuss the "People's  
Revolution and the Christian Church."

There were present at this meeting, besides the N.C.C. secretaries, David Yu, T. Z. Koo, Mr. Barnett and L. T. Chen of the Y.M.C.A., Frank Lee of Shanghai College, Dr. R. Y. Lo, Methodist Church, Dr. Miao of the Educational Association, and several foreign mission administrators, Dr. Rawlinson, Miss Ting and Miss Thorburn from the Y.W.C.A., <sup>Y.M.C.A. secretary</sup> secretary from Japan, a Mr. Ma, who is a member of the Kuomintang and who had just come from several weeks in Wahan, etc. Several of the group had very recently been up in that section.

be

The consensus of reports was that in the end there will/a strong rift between the right and left wings, but at present they will hold together until unification is accomplished and that it is a draw as to which will win out in the end. The propaganda work is practically all in the hands of the left. In answer to a good many searching questions as to the principles of the Kuomintang from this or that foreigner in the group, the Chinese present without exception requested of their foreign friends the following things: Not to jump to the conclusion that all the Kuomintang or anything connected with it is Red. Really to read and understand Sun Yat Sen's principles and, above all, to have as much patience as possible with this movement which is a tremendous and irresistible force and Chinese. — I felt more willing after this meeting to acknowledge the real strength of the Russian element in all this and now feel that here too it is a draw as to which in the end will win out, but there is no shadow of a doubt that all of our Chinese friends are heart and soul back of the People's Revolution and feel that whatever Russian influence and aid may be necessary now, this is the Chinese nation coming to itself and will be that in the end. "The People's Revolution is dead set against the treaties and the Church is not." That was said more than once by Chinese speakers.

Mr. Ma, who was listened to with the greatest interest, said that there were five things the church should now do: one, take an unequivocal stand against the treaties; two, banish foreign control in all organizations; three, register the schools (register first, negotiate for religious liberty afterwards); four, accept as much as possible of Dr. Sun's principles; five, express its sympathy for the farmer and labor groups as is being so strongly done by the Kuomintang. In connection with this last point there was a great deal of reference to the industrial committee of the N.C.C. Dr. Lo told of telling Mr. Borodin of the National Conference's action on child labor as proof that the church does care for one of the chief Sun Yat Sen principles — "Economic reform". I thought so many times of Miss Harrison, Miss Dingman and all those who have had a part in starting the industrial interest in the churches here.

There was a feeling that whereas many groups here and abroad had stated their attitude toward the treaties, there had not been enough demand for action and there was a wish that we might get in touch with the foreign missions conference in America before its late January meeting and with corresponding groups in England to the end that our governments might feel a more urgent desire from the mission group out here for them to initiate changes in the treaties at the earliest possible moment. It was felt that the toleration clauses do not matter so much as they are now inoperative anyway. For that matter, somebody pointed out that so long as the American consul does not feel that the United States can protect her nationals beyond Chungking and so long as the concession has been more or less turned over at Hankow, even the treaties are scarcely in operation!

Helen Thorburn  
Y.W.C.A., Shanghai,  
January 14, 1927

CONFIDENTIAL

Report on Political Situation  
 Helen Hoburn  
 1 Young Allen Court  
 Shanghai  
 January 13, 1927

Yesterday the National Christian Council called a hurried meeting of as many as possible of the heads of mission and similar groups in Shanghai. There were about forty people present, all foreigners, Father Hoag and I representing the Y. M. C. A. (the only women except Miss MacKinnon from Kentucky). This has given us a cross section of the latest information and points of view from the mission group, which is invaluable. In my notes with Mrs. Blaisdell's letter I have given a corresponding report of some of the thinking of the Chinese Christian group, so I think you can feel that we are getting at all possible information here though I wish we knew more about the community point of view. We were asked to keep confidential what was said in yesterday's meeting. I am assuming that that would still permit us to report its main points to you, as it is our overseas offices that are most concerned. Both of these groups are to meet again, the mission group after representatives have seen the British and American consuls and got the fullest possible information as to probable diplomatic or consular action. I will write again, of course, after these further meetings. It seems to me that we have much poorer mail service than last year. I am sure some of the boats have been taken off as there are such long gaps between out-going mails.

There still seems to be no particular reason for troubling you. The nearest to any evacuation that we have come across on our staff is a wire yesterday from Catherine MacKinnon in Chungking saying that one may have to come, - for us to hold her mail. The theme of yesterday's meeting seemed to be the problem of whether or when foreigners in the interior should be called in, at least as far as Shanghai, not so much because of present danger in the outports as because any future trouble in Shanghai, especially anything like the Hankow "incident," would have an immediate and disastrous reaction on foreigners in the interior. The whole group gathered there yesterday was questioned as to their latest information from various parts of China. As far as I could remember (I did not feel free to take notes) someone reported word from Chungking dated January 8th, saying that boats were being held in readiness in case of evacuation later, that the American consul was urging all missionaries west of Chungking to withdraw, but that the situation gave "but little cause for concern." Someone reported that Bishop Cross had reported (I don't know from whom) on January 8th "Our advice is that women and children in western Szechwan be evacuated," but had also wired on January 9th "Situation improved." Miss Russell has written us today under date of January 9th, "The American consul-general in Hankow is wiring to up-country and inland Americans that the situation is easy and improving, but if any feel unsafe or are threatened in their local places, they have his sanction to move to treaty ports." Her letters continue to be almost entirely cheerful because her eyes are fixed so on the ultimate gain to China in this whole process of change and she seems to have little fear of having to leave herself. As I understand it, British subjects are a good deal more under authority of their consuls than are Americans and if they are told to leave, practically have to do so. I suppose that is why there seems more possibility of Miss MacKinnon's having to come down here than Miss Russell. Of course Miss Russell may have to come if she would otherwise be left alone.

The general situation seems to be that up to the present the consuls want all interior people in places of danger to come to the treaty ports, but are not insisting on it, except in Hankow and possibly one or two other places - you see how conflicting our reports are. The heads of all of the larger missions who were there at yesterday's meeting were questioned as to their own policy and the general trend seemed to be that they were leaving it to individuals' judgment, although urging that all their people in the interior feel free to come down if they were "too nervous," as one man said, and

that in general everywhere people were staying on the job.

Hangchow is one of the other difficult places so far as our own work is concerned, but although the most of the Chinese board and staff have come down to Shanghai, the few foreigners there seem not to be particularly perturbed and there is no fighting in or too near the city.

I suppose Hankow is also under a good deal of stress as Sun Chuanfang is quartered there, but we have heard of no particular difficulties. We will get the latest news when Grace Steinbeck returns tomorrow.

Yesterday's meeting, which was rather distressingly concentrated on the matter of safety for foreigners with not much recognition of the Chinese stakes in all this, centered by degrees around the problem of Shanghai. The general feeling seemed to be that an "incident," as they call it, was practically unavoidable here and was the deliberate purpose of at least some elements in the southern forces, whatever the military turn of events might come to be. The feeling was that if our governments are drawn into the use of force, we shall be pretty badly off. If they could possibly be induced to rely on negotiation or perhaps even turn over the concession with negotiations afterwards, as has been so marvellously begun in Hankow, all might be well in the end. The consistent feeling was that whereas the first impact of the southern forces brings a certain amount of destruction, the later and more permanent stages (as already proved in the south) are not bad. We all have rather faint hope of our governments not using force if pushed to it. On the way to yesterday's meeting I stopped at the printer's to take in the last proof of the January Supplement and had to walk through barbed wire entanglements which were at that moment being strung up by the Municipal Police. On the other hand, the restraint shown by the British forces at Hankow in not even having their rifles loaded during the mob affair indicates a possible policy here too.

The foreign press here is, almost without exception, being destructive beyond words. The China Press ran a scarehead one day this week about the volunteers being called out, which was not true at all. You will see some of this from the clippings I am sending Mrs. Bledsoe today. Phyllis Norton who is with the British Chamber of Commerce, told me yesterday she felt that the business group in Shanghai were beginning to be more open-minded toward the Kuomintang until the Hankow incident, but it of course has tightened them up as nothing else has since the 30th of May.

Now to turn rather to what has happened within our own group: we are all breaking our necks to catch tomorrow night's mail and it feels like the aftermath of May 30th as we are sending the Supplement and this mimeographed material to a great many people. I was in the remarkable position this morning of cutting my own committee meeting entirely, because this seems more important than anything else. We are also doing some very fast thinking about accommodations. We may have to give up 201 within a few weeks as the Police Department wants it and 202, and I suppose they could force us out although we have a lease to June. We are also quite up in the air as to whether the Hostess House family should move out and these two situations, with the probability of people coming in from other centers, are keeping us on the jump. Ella Bledsoe has postponed her sailing indefinitely, and so it goes.

The probabilities of trouble here in Shanghai as discussed in yesterday's meeting would seem to be the possibility of a general strike which would affect food supplies, the taking over of foreign-owned property, etc. We have to face all these contingencies and plan as wisely as possible with as little excitement as we can manage, and people are really not overtroubled at all. Day by day our sense of being a part of a Chinese organization strongly guides our personal actions and reactions to all this situation. As I listened to yesterday's discussion in that group of people burdened for the safety of several thousands other foreigners, and some of them seemingly so remote from the best Chinese opinion, I felt a sense of freedom and hopefulness that I could have given anything to be able to share.

Putting all together, I do not honestly think we shall be in any personal danger and

it of course may be, as I always say, that by the time this letter arrives the whole thing will have so completely blown over that it will sound very strange. However, I am writing so that you may have all the information we can get and am not holding anything back. I hope that with all this you will know what it is best to say to families or any other groups there.

Yours very sincerely,

(Signed) Helen Theburn

Publication Executive

Postscript - January 14, just before the mail closes:

Each difference as has come about today you will get the feeling of in the clipping from today's papers in the set I am just mailing to Mrs. Blaisdell. If anything, matters seem worse. Miss Hoag is writing you of her talk with Dr. Wei and about our property questions. Miss Bayher was told by Dr. Lobentine this noon that the latest word (I don't know how he got it) was that all foreigners are ordered out of Szechuen. We haven't wired Chengtu as yet, as we'll know better what to do by Monday and there's not much use wiring anyway, as if they're coming, they're coming. We certainly need all the housing accommodations we can hold on to. Dr. Wei told Miss Hoag today that he thought that within a month thousands of extra people would have come into Shanghai.

Political Situation Effect  
on W.C.U.U

Student Strike etc



"File" United Church  
of Canada.

INDEXED

RECORDED

Chengta, Sze., Oct. 10th, 1926.

Dr. J.H. Arnup,  
Toronto, Ont.

Dear Dr. Arnup:-

I am enclosing an account of the recent trouble here in our University. I am also enclosing a copy of a translation of the Manifesto issued by our students. This latter should be read first as it shows the cause of the trouble. In this sheet which I am sending you will also find an account of the British demands in connection with the seizure of the ships at Wanhsien which is the immediate cause of the present anti-British feeling in this Province.

One always hesitates before expressing an opinion as to what the future has for us here but if I dared I would say that we will probably be faced with disturbed conditions yet for some years which will periodically flare up and make us wonder if we are going to be able to continue our work. This province now is lawless and we can hold on only because of the friendly feelings that missionaries have succeeded in developing in the minds of the majority of the people during the time that work has been done here. I am glad that children at home are remaining there also that those whose furloughs are nearly due are going soon. It is children that we are most concerned about. The rest of us are ready to take risks and we expect to be preserved from real trouble but even if not we are ready to take the risk but we do not feel justified in risking children beyond what is unavoidable.

I think the Wanhsien incident is closed but with a country honey-combed by the Red Agitation there are those who are always ready to seize the first pretext to ferment more trouble. But our work as missionaries is on a sure foundation and only the triumph of the worst element in the province can force its closure. We are hoping that the better element will yet prevail in the land.

We are all well in our family and I think in our Mission at the present time.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

G.W. SPARLING.

AGITATION IN THE WEST CHINA UNION UNIVERSITY - OCT. 4th to 8th, 1926.

Near the close of September, some three weeks after the arrival of the news concerning the fighting between the British Gunboats and the Military under General Yang Sen, consequent upon the seizing of merchant ships by the Chinese General, the students of the University decided to issue a manifesto in regard to the incident. This was prepared by two students of the upper years, afterwards adopted by the Student Body and with their stamp upon it was distributed to the general public. The manifesto was intensely anti-British, denouncing in most scurrilous tones British civilization and especially British policy in China.

Soon some of these pamphlets fell into the hands of the President of the University and British members of the staff. It was a question as to what was the best attitude to take to the whole matter. One possibility would have been to let the whole affair pass without notice. However, it was decided that this would not be wise for the sake of the future of the institution or for the students themselves. If students were allowed to issue a pamphlet vilifying the British, while many of their teachers were from that nation, there might be no limit to what they would do some time in the future when their feelings were again aroused. It was decided, therefore, to ask the officers of the student body for an explanation of their action, to hear whether this statement was a general one against all British or had reference simply to the Wanhsien incident and those who took part there. The two student leaders were interviewed by the President and an explanation was demanded. It was stated that only the Wanhsien incident was included in the issue. However these two students claimed that in demanding an explanation the President and the Faculty had overstepped their rights and they fled to the Student Body and posed as Martyrs. It is plainly seen that the whole plan now was to make the affair the occasion of violent agitation to wreck if possible the institution.

Unfortunately, the Assembly known as the Student Body includes all students, special and sub-freshmen. Many of these have not been long in touch with Mission work and some of them, it is thought, have entered just to be on hand to ferment trouble when the opportunity arose. This was their chance and at the first meeting it was decided that it should be made a test case as to "Whether the University should Rise or Fall". The first meeting called for an apology from the President which must be

given before half past eight on the following morning. Next morning the five hundred students of the Middle School and the University assembled in a howling mob outside of the main building. They demanded the appearance and explanation of the President, but it would have been the height of folly to have recognized the mob.

Tuesday, October the fifth, had been set apart as a day for a parade in the city to demonstrate against the action of the British at Wanhhsien. Our students seized this occasion and joined the parade, so we had the spectacle of five hundred of our own students walking down the road in front of our own residences, carrying flags and banners, and yelling, to fight the British and destroy everything in any way connected with them. But we were not overly chagrined by what we saw, for we realized there was a sane element among them who would not yet assert themselves when the time came. This procession passed on into the city and called for the destruction of their own University and British institutions.

On their return in the afternoon, another meeting of the students was called when they again demanded that the President come before them and give an explanation. Next morning they were in a cooler frame of mind, and the President consented to meet them. When he left, a vote was taken as to whether the statement made was satisfactory, and the majority voted against it. We all wondered then what the next move was, and feared a deadlock. On Thursday, October the eighth, another meeting of the students was called. We were told by some that a definite decision would be reached either way at this meeting. They assembled at half-past seven in the morning, and did not adjourn until nearly twelve. Both sides had their blood up and were determined to win. During this meeting it was decided to vote by ballot on the issue, "Do you want the University to Close its Doors". They also agreed that a majority of one either way would decide the case and all would follow the will of the majority. When the ballots were counted, there were found to be 213, of which 99 voted to close the institution, and 114 to keep it open. And thus our fate has been decided. It almost makes one shudder to think of what the significance of an adverse vote would have been. If this University had closed, probably all other missionary institutions in the city and perhaps in the province would have been forced to do likewise.

But it was a real VICTORY. When we consider that some two hundred students in a country like China where the young mind is not supposed to be stable, after four days of pressure from the Red influ-



ences not only in the university but from the city as well, could deliberately vote with a substantial majority in our favour, it certainly shows the security of Missionary work. There were some forty students who did not vote and we surmise that it was much like a vote on a Temperance question at home, where the anti-forces work hard and bring all their supporters to the polls, while the others are more slack and lose many votes. Moreover, many who under pressure, and in a state of excitement, voted against the side of law and order, in their sane moments would probably find their sympathies and best interests with us. Every such crisis passed makes our position more secure and we may have more of them, but we have faith to believe that our work is not yet done and the final decision will be as it was this time in favour of a continuance of the work.

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RECEIVED  
UNIVERSITIES  
NOV 27 1926  
JOINT OFFICE

(This is a paper issued by the students, containing a translation of material from the Chinese newspapers.)

THE DAILY MERE

CHENGTEU - Oct. 8th, 1926.

Declaration of the Union University Student Association Regarding the Wanhsien Tragedy.

"The English are always fierce and naturally cruel. While her material civilization stands first among the powers the genius of her culture indeed falls beneath our own. In this new day when cosmopolitanism is being universally advocated she still plays her old time clever hunting schemes in forest and marsh, deceiving the weak and small of the world with the strength of her ships and the prowess of her guns. With the mien of the lion and the glare of the tiger, she has encroached on the autonomy of the Flowery Kingdom, devouring as a caterpillar and swallowing as a whale, paring off the borders of our divine inheritance.

Beginning with the time that communications were first opened up between China and England, our nation has not ceased to suffer at her hands. She destroyed Burma, cut off Hongking, opened up the five ports and leased Chiu Lung. Our people, of course always peace loving, accepting the principles of "pacification of the barbarians" entertaining a broad policy, in the virtue of 'kindness to those from afar' gave over the above places. Moreover, we surrendered all kinds of rights and privilege and never yet have we measured with her (Britain) in the slighted test - but who would think it? The perverse barbarians, not only did not know enough to repent, but still went on 'getting a foot and taking a mile', and recently she has saddled on us her imperialism and advocated her economic policy until it will sink all our fellow countrymen into the slavery of dogs and horses, and into an environment of bitter distraction.

The gulf of greed having been gratified, her will desire became lifted up as in the Shanghai case of May the 30th., and before the blood and marrow of our patriots was dry she scattered the flesh and bones of our fellow-countrymen in the Wan Liu" incident of Sept. 5th., drowning two boat loads of soldiers without the slightest attempt to indemnify.

In the bombardment of Wanhsien she still further presumed on her perverse barbarianism so that nothing has surpassed this instance of her contempt of our national rights and of her direct controvention of the laws of rectitude among men. When this terrible news reached us (the news of the Wanhsien affair) we men, with our hair standing on end and our eyes cracking open aghast, swore that not until we have wiped out this incomparable shame will we live under the same heaven or in the same world as these rebels.

What we hope all our gentlemen will do is to form a strong society - the whole mass unified like a rampart - in one resolution to quickly prepare for war; even grasping cudgels able to meet the steel (of the enemy).

We would moreover, hope that all gentlemen at this juncture would quickly stop internal strife and unitedly oppose foreign insolence. We would respectfully propose several demands, which we would offer to the foreign office, to fight for in harmony with the rights of the case, and which we certainly expect will come into effect.

1. Severance of economic relations.
2. The British government to indemnify Wanh sien for all loss of life and property.
3. Withdraw her (Britain's) rights of navigation in the interior.
4. Take back all the leased and ceded territories.
5. Punish according to law the murderers who began the trouble and demand a real apology from the government of Great Britain to the government of China.

The regular issue of the 'Lyre' has been interrupted because of trouble at the Union University caused by the above manifesto, which has been translated by outside sources from a Chinese newspaper. Happily at the time that this issue is going to print, all misunderstandings have been settled and the students are now at classes.

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From Kwei Ming Kung Bao of October 7th.

One hundred employees of the C.M.M. printing press are to cease working for the English barbarians within the next few days and to have no further connection with them. We have heard that other printing presses are making plans to give them employment in order that their fellow laborers may secure a living.

It is heard that the British gunboats at Ichang are coming up river again to stay on the Wanh sien-Chungking stretch of river. The different Societies of Chungking are wiring to have them stopped.

Demands of the Society for Wiping out Disgrace(Chengtu)

1. That the terms as negotiated by Dr.Gi, destroying the nation autonomy, be not recognized.
2. Request Yang Sen not to accede to them.
3. Demand indemnity, punishment and apology.
4. Demand the removal of the British Consul from Chungking.

5. Request the closing of the river at Kwei Fu to British shipping.
6. Demand that unequal treaties with Britain be annulled.

As many soldiers are now pouring from Wanhsien to Ichang, the French consul has wired French boats to cease navigation for the time so as to avoid complications with the soldiers.

-----

From the Sze Chuan Daily.

Dr. Gi has ruined national autonomy.

Dr. Gi on his return (from Ichang) to Chungking gathered the official bodies together on the 29th and reported on the negotiations at Ichang. He also put out a statement as follows:...."When I went to Wanhsien, Yang Sen wished to settle the matter by negotiations, but the British Consul was away at Ichang. The British had said that unless the Wanhsien and the Wantung were released there would be no negotiations. This of course was not in line with my idea nor indeed to begin with was it General Yang's, but my problem was if the boats were still held how could there be negotiations....We were at a dead lock. General Yang said the people were afraid of the consequences of a conflict and he sent me to Ichang with instructions that if there was no other way out I could grant the delivery of the boats but there was to be indemnity for the sinking of the boats and destruction of the city. The first meeting with the British Consul brought no results. The Vice-Admiral had been sent to Ichang to arrange the affair, and requested me, General Lu and Commissioner of Customs to meet him on his boat. He gave the following points in which General Yang was at fault in this case -

1. It was contrary to treaty rights for General Yang Sen to compel British boats to carry troops.
2. Before the case of the Wanliu (overturning the boats) General Yang had forcibly placed troops on the Wantung and Wanhsien and had turned the guns on the British gunboats as if they were going to fight.
3. In connection with the Wanliu he should have taken up peaceful negotiations and not military tactics and so cut off British communications.
4. When the Chia Ho came up she was fired on by troops from the bank; this is entirely military procedure and not in harmony with Chinese and British peaceful international relationship - thus the starting of the trouble is Yang Sen's responsibility.

He (the Admiral) said his orders from his government were -

1. If the boats were not given over they were to be taken by military force.
2. There was two million dollars injury to the boats for which the Chinese must give indemnity.

4.

3. That the British boats on the river must not be molested, etc.....

With this unyielding attitude on their (British) part, I argued and explained each point.....After several meetings in which there was no yielding on either side, I obeyed General Yang's order and gave in to liberating the boats - not directly and not on terms demanded, but on the following terms.....

1. The two boats to be given over to a third party, to the Manager of the Chie Chiang Steamship Company, with the understanding that before settlement the case of the overturning of the 'sampan' must be dealt with. The Committee responsible for organizing a Commission to examine into the overturning of the sampans to consist of the Chungking Commissioner of Customs and the British Consul and if the decision is not satisfactory, an appeal may be made to the Consular body.
2. The Vice-Admiral and the Consul guaranteed that in the future British boats would not adopt military tactics.
3. All matters connected with the Wanhsien affair would be scheduled by both sides for further negotiations."

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Kwei Ming kung Bao Oct.7th.

Telegram from the Chungking 'Wiping Out Disgrace Society' to General Yang informs him that one of their representatives was gone to examine the Wanhsien affair and had been taking bribes. He is therefore a traitor, and is expelled from the Society.

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THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE PARTIAL FAMILIES OF THE  
STUDENTS IN WEST CHINA UNION  
UNIVERSITY

RESPECTING THE HEARTS OF THE WITHDRAWING STUDENTS  
BUT NOT SATISFING IN THEIR PLAN

When the problem of the partial students withdrawing from West China Union University, arose, our boys we would not permit to join with them. Recently, we heard that some posters were posted near the university, stating that the students who dared to go back to study, should be punished by some ways. Therefore, we called back our boys temporarily; but they would never join the withdrawing students body. The purpose of making this announcement is not to flatter the foreigners but to explain our ideas regarding this trouble.

1. Why we sent our boys to this university? In our country we have civil war every year that caused the educational work stopped sometimes for the shortage of money and some political purpose. This case is specially happened in Szechuen. Our colleges and some special schools could not go good service for this reason. Of course, the West China Union University has its weakness, but comparatively is much better than the government schools; and also could not be effected by the changes of the government.

2. We don't understand the reason and the aim of the withdrawing students body. We heard that the cause of this trouble in the very beginning was that the students were not satisfied with the apology Dr. Beech, the president of the university, made for his scorning the students. But by the circular letter the students sent out concerning his apology, according our view, it was very

plain that Dr. Beech had sincerely apologized to the students <sup>that</sup> ~~which~~ ought be quite satisfactory. If the president is a Chinese, as the the relation between students and teacher in our country, he would not apologize like that. So, we don't think there is any reason of why the students not satisfied.

Some said ~~this~~ trouble is caused by the case with the English in Wanshien. If so, it has no reason at all, because the university is <sup>not</sup> conducted entirely by the English people, ~~but partially~~. The president is an American. In our government schools there are some English people on the staff. Why the students in those schools would not withdraw ~~from their schools~~? Education is not as same as the business that we have boycott is to protect our business and prevent our money to go out to the other country, but education ~~is to receive the profit from them~~ <sup>is different</sup>. ~~We~~ <sup>WE</sup> ~~don't~~ <sup>not</sup> see there is any harm to our country, if we receive education from them, ~~in the mission schools even conducted by the English people. It is harmless to them at all, if we refused to study from them.~~ It is rather ridiculous that we say the foreigners invaded us through education. If we call the study in the buildings of West China Union University is invading, is it invading that the students in the government schools work with the English ~~people~~ teachers? If you say there is difference that the government school is not operated by the English people, what would you say that the Chinese students went abroad to study in England and returned to teach in the government schools.

Some people said that we want to get back our authority on education. If so, what they have done just now, is really to destroy our education, because if the university closed, many students could not find right school to go in Szechuen. The fundamental plan to get back our authority on education is to do



our best to make the government <sup>ment</sup> schools excellent, ~~and then the~~  
~~mission schools would be naturally closed themselves.~~ If the uni-  
versity closed for this trouble, what shall we do with the students  
they don't have enough money to support themselves to go out of  
Szechuen to study. If it be so, that is to compell this group of  
useful young people to be idle wanderers. What ~~you want to~~ ~~do~~  
help them ~~is to injure them very badly.~~

(5) The expectation of ours to the withdrawing students  
and the friends who help them. Indeed, we respect your good hearts  
in loving our nation, but not satisfy with your plan. We hope the  
withdrawing students can find proper schools to attend, and study  
very deligently. When you have completed your study, you might  
established some good schools. Then not only the our students will  
not go abroad to study, but some of the foriegners will come to  
study in our schools in China. Thus the authority on education  
is really taken back. The next thing <sup>hope</sup> we is the friends, who are  
intently to help the withdrawing students, can help them to get  
some proper schools, thus they may not loose their valuable times.

RECEIVED  
MARCH 10 1927

West China Union University  
Chongtu West China

March 7th, 1927



To the Western Instructors,  
Chongtu, West China.

Dear Ladies and Gentlemen,

Whereas the agreement for arbit-  
ration of the Hankow affairs between England and China  
has been peacefully signed by the two nations concerned,

Whereas the provincial Govern-  
ment of Szechuan province has issued a proclamation to  
protect with all possible means the foreign citizens here  
and their properties at all times.

Whereas our University has been  
opened and one hundred and ten students have enrolled  
even though now there are political difficulties, and

Whereas the denominations of  
churches will be greatly and seriously affected if all of  
you go at once,

Therefore, the Students Associa-  
tion of the West China Union University, with a view to  
the future of that institution, and to the goodness and  
prosperity of the students that have already registered  
this term, with a membership of one hundred and ten in num-  
ber both men and women, cordially as well as respectfully  
requests you to stay and continue your missionary respon-  
sibility rather than to withdraw from your work and from  
the University.

On behalf of the Students Association,

Yours very truly,

Signed.....	Li Min Liang	Chairman
	Y. L. Long	Vice-Chairman
	Tin C. Ho	Secretary

Chengt'u, March 8th, 1927

To our Missionary Associates in the University.

Dear Friends:

Our University has been opened for several years, and due to the untiring efforts of missionaries from the West, it has attained a measure of real success. Quite recently, on account of incidents at Hankow and at the urgent request of their respective governments the missionaries have been leaving the province until only a few remain in our institution and we have heard that continued pressure is being brought to bear upon these to leave also.

We have now heard that an Agreement has been signed at Hankow, so, in our judgment, it should not be necessary for more missionaries to leave. Education is a philanthropic work, and is not involved in international relationships. Moreover, the Szechuan government has issued orders for the special protection of foreign residents and we do not anticipate any untoward incident in this province.

Missionaries have come here in a spirit of sacrifice and service and if at this time of special stress and anxiety you are able to continue at your posts and to conduct the University with accustomed zeal you will arouse even greater gratitude and admiration from the whole community.

It is our earnest hope that you will be able to continue, with your former enthusiasm and purpose and that no more will leave. Then, when this period of strain and stress has passed, you will find that our educational work has been greatly advanced and that the students have profited greatly under your teaching and guidance. This is the sincere desire of us all collectively and individually and we are extending our wishes through the Acting President.

Yours sincerely,

Signed by, Wen Hai Yui  
C.H. Fang  
U Tang I  
Lu Chi  
Cheo Kuang Hsi  
Chang Min Chuin  
Wu Chao Hua  
Fei Chung Chih  
Lai Yui Chang  
Chen Chi Shuan.



INDEXED

UNIVERSITY

JUN 6 1927

JOINT OFFICE

FIRST STATEMENT OF THE COMMITTEE APPOINTED BY THE  
MEETING OF THE FACULTY OF  
THE WEST CHINA UNION UNIVERSITY HELD IN SHANGHAI  
ISSUED MAY 1ST, 1927.

TRANSFER

The larger part of the foreign staff of the West China Union University, left for the coast during January and February due to the conditions on the lower Yangtze and Consular urging. By April 1927 there was a large group of the foreign staff in Shanghai and they held several luncheons for purposes of talking over the situation in China and the prospects of returning to Chengtu. A number of those attending had arranged to proceed to the home lands on furlough and as reports were received from Chengtu that the University was open and that some half dozen foreigners were still teaching and intended to remain for the time being, the group in Shanghai appointed a committee to gather news and to keep the faculty informed of developments either in Chengtu as they learned it from up river or in China as it appears from Shanghai. The following summary is the first made by this committee and it is hoped that these notes will be issued from time to time and fulfil the purpose of keeping the members in touch with each other and the situation.

Committee:- H. D. Robertson, H. D. Brown, Mrs. D. Dye,  
W. G. Sewell.

Educational News.

The following is a summary of the educational situation in China with special reference to the Mission schools of higher learning.

It was made largely from the reports given in a conference of Christian educators in China which took place in the Mission building Shanghai on April 22nd, 1927. In addition, the committee has been in touch with the N. C. C., the Educational Association and Mr. Cressy in particular. The latter has been making a survey of educational problems and conditions for some years and is very closely in touch with the situation.

There are 16 Colleges and Universities in connection with Missions in China. As far as is known at present eight of these are closed, with foreign and Chinese staff both gone. Of the eight still carrying classes, only four have foreigners teaching at present and in all but one the number is greatly reduced.

Besides the above Colleges there are six Medical Colleges: (1) Moukden, (2) P. U. M. C., (3) Women's Medical College Shanghai, (4) Hangchow, (5) Canton (Hacket) and (6) Hsiang Ya in Changsha. Of these only the first two are functioning and the Shanghai one is doubtful. The medical work in Tsinan is closed down and in Chengtu officially so. P. U. M. C. and Moukden are as yet unaffected by the southern drive as far as is known.

There are also five theological colleges or seminaries. Probably two are functioning - Foochow and Canton. Nanking is closed till 1928 at least and the Lutheran one in Hupeh thought to be closed. The North China Theological College in Shantung is closed.

Thus of the 27 institutions of higher learning under Missions only about half are open at all and in most of these there are no foreigners.

From the reports at hand the following is the situation.

1. Shantung Christian College. Had started this term but is now closed and all foreigners left.

2. Yenching. The University registered with the Northern government and is rapidly turning over the authority to Chinese staff. There is a radical group of students causing trouble but it is still running at last report. The foreign staff likely there. Chinese Vice-president, staff very strong.

3. Peking Union Medical College. Registered early with the northern government and are carrying on with foreign and Chinese staff. A number of the women and children left owing to Consular advice. Dr. Morse just returned to Shanghai from there and Dr. Crawford just gone up. Dr. Liljestrand there also, but families advised not to go from Shanghai.

The Government American Boxer indemnity college Tsing Hua, is having trouble owing to their being mixed up in the Soviet Embassy affair when the military made a raid on it.

Government schools in Peking only about 1/10 efficiency according to Dr. N. Gist Gee. Salaries months behind. Parades and student meetings continually.

4. Central Teachers College. Badly broken up by strike and agitations. Trouble both inside and out. Closed for a year or two. The girls American Episcopal Middle School (St. Hildas) and the Wesley Middle School for boys both closed as precautionary.

5. Yale. All missionary work in the province of Hunan is in bad shape. The reporters called it "dead" completely. Yale University closed before the end of last term. They tried to forestall the trouble by contact and promises from the Government last fall. Protection was promised, but all Fall there were strikes and agitations. By November all schools in trouble. Yale middle school closed in December. Fuchan middle also closed in December. Girls schools less disaffected than boys. Christian educational Union disbanded. Communist elements in control in province at present and Provincial government says there shall be no religion taught in schools.

6. Hsiang Ya Medical College had a bad time. It was supported by provincial funds and China Medical Board funds. Other institutions were jealous of its support and the "all Chinese" board of managers could not prevent its closing. Foreigners all left. It shows a danger in receiving public funds.

7. Huping in Hunan. Closed last Fall by a definite Red Attack.

8. Lutheran College in Hunan. Closed by outside pressure on the student body.

9. Central China Union University (Boone). Open and with a large enrollment. By the aid of Bishop Roots and a loyal staff who kept in close touch with the officials, they kept open. The staff have been sympathetic with the nationalist aspirations. They have an Acting president Francis Wei. The spirit is good but there is growing apprehension as the left wing gets more control of the province. At present they cannot register as the conditions are too stringent.

10. Nanking University and College of Agriculture and Forestry. Were running fine up until the attack on property and foreigners by Southern troops. The evidence is all that it was planned, premeditated and controlled. All foreigners left on gunboats, many being saved only by them. As a group they are gloomy about the future. Most foreigners left China forthwith. President Bowen left for America. Dean Reisner is in Shanghai still. The foreigners houses mostly looted but the college buildings not. After many conferences it was decided to open with Chinese staff alone. This it was thought would also save the buildings and property from being taken over. At present over 250 students and most classes going on. Have taken on some of Southeastern University staff to help out. Southeastern University badly hit. It is closed completely and its staff dispersed. Worse off than either Nanking or Ginling. No foreigners in Nanking now.

11. Ginling Girls College. Foreigners left. The staff is mostly foreign so regular work impossible. Some 40 to 50 girls still there and the Chinese members of staff keeping it as a semi-boarding school. Mrs. Thurston the Principal, thinks there is a move among the radical leaders to destroy all higher education and bases her idea on the persecution which many Chinese educational leaders have met recently.

12. Soochow University. There is a Chinese acting president and the college is open. All foreigners have left. The foreigners thought to return but were forbidden by the State Department in America and the consular body. Told to take the Consular advice. Most of them still in Shanghai. They are having trouble and the faculty getting mixed up with politics.

13. Hangchow Christian College. In about the same state as Soochow. They have a Chinese vice-president. Foreign staff including Dr. Fische at present in Shanghai. The Chinese faculty are a small minority. Dr. Fische believes that the aim of the present military leaders is to keep the parties together until the country is unified and then become more radical. He considers their aim to be a sort of "state socialism". They are what he calls "the right end of the left wing" and want state controlled schools, banks, departmental stores and have little use for private schools.

14. Shanghai Baptist College. After much trouble are still open and though no foreigners living at the college, the men go out from Shanghai settlements to teach each day. Some refugees are filling in the time formerly given by women e.g. Mr. Lovegren of Kiating.

They have had much labor trouble and on one occasion the students were locked in without food for most of a day and staff kept out.

When the labor party got certain demands they straightway increased them and had to be refused. They made terms. After a long session the authorities decided to appoint a Chinese Vice-president, controlling board of managers and make religion optional. The latest report is that the presidency has now been offered to the third Chinese Djang Wai Li of the National Y. M. C. A. The vice-president refused it.

15. St. John's University Shanghai. Closed at least until September 1928. The college is within the area protected by foreign troops excepting the Biology building. The authorities preferred to close rather than be further embarrassed. The majority of the staff going on furlough. Many foreigners living on the property and the library is open. A few of the staff staying around at present.

16. Fukien Christian College Foochow. The University still open with about  $\frac{2}{3}$  its enrollment. Lost 40 to 50 students. A conservative minority stood up for the college and by dint of persistence saved the institution. The foreigners are still there and the Chinese staff is only two. The minority of loyal students put on a campaign, put up posters, attended anti-meetings and finally won out.

The movement lately in all schools has been to register. Religion now voluntary in all schools open and the managing boards are Chinese. The Normal, Middle and Kindergarden are closed. The property now guarded by Chinese Naval troops, but classes going on.

17. Canton Christian College. They have had constant trouble and the report was that they who had acceded most, were worst off. They have had labor troubles lately and the last word was that they had closed down, whether temporary or for a longer time is not certain. The plan for the medical property is to give it over to the alumni. The Chinese president has been in Shanghai and left for Nanking a few days ago.

18. West China Union University Szechuen. Open with about 130 students, about half the regular number. Four of regular staff of foreigners still there and being helped by some half dozen friends who constitute the only large group of foreigners in Szechuen. Medical and Dental college closed but a little teaching on the side is being done. Senior class allowed to graduate.

Middle schools about half the number open and mostly registered. All but Minchow senior middle schools operating. The lack of religious teaching or activities in one is giving some concern. Military occupying several mission schools and other properties.

Hangchow and Shanghai Colleges have now a committee appointed to put the schools on a Chinese basis and register when and if possible.

Wuchang and Hangchow Middle schools which receive some government financial support are in danger of being taken over entirely by the government.

Wuhu Middle school occupied and taken over by military.

Anking merely a Kweimintang propaganda centre.

NOTES ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION, APRIL 1927, SHANGHAI.

.....

After a delay of two weeks, presumably for the purpose of reaching an agreement among the five powers concerned, a joint note on the Nanking affair was presented to Mr. Eugene Chen at Hankow and to General Chiang Kai-sek at Shanghai, by the representatives of the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan.

Mr. Eugene Chen made a separate reply to each government. These replies received a poor reception from the foreign Press of China and in the countries concerned. At the time of writing it is not known whether a second joint note is to be presented. Press reports indicate that the government of the United States is not prepared to act on the advice of the U. S. Minister at Peking, who is represented as being in full accord with the policy of the British and Japanese governments.

General Chiang Kai-sek in a public statement announced his independence of the government at Hankow and declared that the Communist elements in the Nationalist party were the enemies of the Chinese people and were hindering the progress of the revolution. Before leaving for Nanking where he had convened a meeting of leaders of the Nationalist party General Chiang took strong action against the Labour organisations and the armed pickets of Shanghai. Offices were raided and closed and a large quantity of arms seized. As a result the Labour and student here have been reorganised and public statements have been issued denouncing the Communists.

Somewhat of a sensation was created when the Political department of the Nationalist party removed from their positions the officers and general committee of the Chinese General Chamber of Commerce and ordered the arrest of the Chairman Mr. Fu against whom a number of serious charges were brought. This action is reported to be connected with the failure of the negotiations for a loan from the Chamber and the activities of the personal enemies of Mr. Fu.

As a result of the raids carried out by the Chinese police on the Soviet buildings in the Legation quarter Peking much information of the activities of the Soviet agents in China has been made public. The records seized reveal a carefully conceived policy to create disorder in China and to foment anti-foreign feeling. In this connection very large sums of money seem to have been spent in China.

Leaders of the Nationalist party and in the Chinese business circles of Shanghai appear to have great faith in General Chiang and to expect that the setting up of the latest government at Nanking will mark a turning point in the revolutionary movement. The struggle between Hankow and Nanking will be watched with great interest by Chinese and foreigners alike.



NEWS ITEMS FROM CHENGTU

March 25:- "The Educational Building is fine. The two wings of the Medical Building show up. The scaffolding should come down from both soon. Of course there is still much to do inside."

"Our worst trial" is reported to be the drilling of soldiers on the campus. Between two and three thousand were reported some days. No place for the boys to play ball in the afternoons. Middle School boys very meekly went around instead of across campus whenever they found it otherwise occupied, which was often. Last few reports are that conditions had improved somewhat.

Officials and others seem to be making every effort to show their friendliness and to urge the foreigners to stay. Even Joe Taylor has been attending Chinese feasts! Even after the news of the Nanking affair we get the following from a letter written April 6:- "The governor Liu has put out a proclamation that he will not stand for any foolishness, that missionaries are not imperialists, and that missionaries and mission property are to be protected. We go about on the streets with less unfriendliness displayed than there has been for months. "The city god was not allowed his airing on the streets today (China Min) in order to avoid crowds."

Catholic priests and nuns did not leave Chengtu.

Splendid spirit reported on the campus, in classes, at Senate meetings, etc. Lincoln Chang doing excellent work as Vice President. Chinese on Senate seem sobered by their responsibilities. Tea for Senate is now served by one Chinese and one foreigner. Chinese tea and pastry are served, and one foreign cake.

Holidays frequent.

Danald Fay and family are living on the campus, in the Phelps house. Three Chinese are living with Mr. Cranston in the Brewer house. Liu Wen Huei occupying Dr. Beech's residence.

Sunday evening services all union, i.e. Middle School boys attending at the university.

Students using Club tennis courts.

Rice costs a little over \$10 a dou, two dollars less than when it came in last Fall. This because there are no boats on the river, and no way of getting it out.

Dollar changing for 8200 cash.

Mr. Liao asking Dr. Taylor to help find him an English teacher i.e. confidence in foreigner evident.

Mr. Hsiung, Chin Lung Kai, appointed by the Szechwan Christian Council to come down river to interview representatives of the Nationalist government to see what can be done to safeguard foreigner and mission property.

OFFICERS OF THE UNIVERSITY  
Spring Term - 1927

Vice-Presidents: Lincoln Chang.  
George Sparling.  
Acting-bursar: Robert L. Simkin, acting in conjunction with  
W. B. Albertson, Shanghai.  
Registrars: M. D. Chang.  
Daniel S. Dye.  
Librarian: Mrs. R. L. Simkin.  
Chairman of Senate: Joseph Taylor.  
Vice-Chairman of Senate: Donald Fay.  
Members of Cabinet:  
Lincoln Chang, Donald Fay, M. D. Chang,  
Joseph Taylor, George Sparling.  
Dean of Arts Faculty: Joseph Taylor.  
Dean of Faculty of Education: S. H. Fang.  
Dean of Faculty of Religion: Donald Fay.  
Dean of Science Faculty: Daniel S. Dye.

DIRECTORY OF FOREIGN MEMBERS OF UNIVERSITY FACULTY  
May 1, 1927

In Chengtu:

Dr. and Mrs. Lewis.  
Mr. and Mrs. Manly  
Miss Grace Manly  
Dr. Marion Manly  
Mr. Cranston  
Miss Brethorst

*Mrs. Anne Simkin*  
Mr. Sparling  
Mr. Dickinson  
Mr. Small  
Dr. Wilford  
Dr. Taylor  
Mr. Dye

In Shanghai: *Rm 6*

Address: Box 538, 20 Museum Road.  
Dr. and Mrs. Agnew  
Mr. and Mrs. Albertson  
Dr. and Mrs. Best  
Dr. and Mrs. Harold Brown  
Dr. and Mrs. Mullett  
Mr. Robertson  
Dr. Clifford Kilborn

Address: Box 251: 23 Yuen Ming Yuen Road.  
Mr. and Mrs. Moncrieff  
Dr. and Mrs. Morse  
Mrs. Joseph Taylor  
Mrs. D. S. Dye

Address: c/o Dr. Hodgkin, 23 Yuen Ming Yuen Road  
Mr. and Mrs. Sewell.

In Peking

Dr. Wallace Crawford, P.U.M.C.  
Mr. Johnson, (Teaching at Yenching University).  
Dr. Liljestrand, P.U.M.C.

In Korea

Mrs. John c/o Methodist Mission, Pyengyan, Korea.  
Dr. and Mrs. Cunningham, Seoul, Korea.  
(visiting an uncle, Dr. Avison, President of Chosen  
Christian College).

In Japan:

Mr. Beaton, Kobe.

Mr. Soper, Tokyo, (Will help in Social Service center,  
assisting Dr. Price).

Dr. and Mrs. Thompson, Kobe.

Mrs. Dickinson, Kobe, (Probably leaving for Home in June).

On Furlough or en route for Furlough:

Address: c/o Rev. J. E. Arnup, United Church of Canada,  
299 Queen St., West, Toronto, Canada.

Mr. and Mrs. Bayne

Mr. and Mrs. Homer Brown

Mr. and Mrs. Carscallen

Mr. and Mrs. Johns

Dr. and Mrs. Kelly

Dr. and Mrs. Leslie Kilborn (sailed for Vancouver April 16).

Mr. and Mrs. Meuser

Dr. and Mrs. Service

Mrs. Small

Mrs. Soper

Mrs. Sparling

Dr. Speers Smith (sailed from Shanghai April 25, going home  
via Europe).

Dr. Edward Wallace " " " " " "

Dr. and Mrs. Lindsay " " " " " "

Mr. and Mrs. Walmsley (sailed from Shanghai April 29, going  
home via Honolulu and San Francisco).

Mrs. Wilford.

Address: c/o Board of Foreign Missions, Methodist Episcopal  
Church, 150 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C.

Dr. and Mrs. Beech

Mr. and Mrs. Brewer

Mr. and Mrs. Walter Crawford

Mr. and Mrs. Larkin

Mrs. Liljestrang

Address: c/o American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society,  
276 Fifth Ave., N. Y. C.

Miss Beulah Bassett

Mr. and Mrs. Phelps

Miss Sarah B. Downer

Dr. and Mrs. Yates

Address: c/o H. T. Silcock, Friends' Mission, Friends' House,  
Euston Road, London, N. W. 1.

Mr. and Mrs. Sawden-

Dr. and Mrs. Stubbs

Miss Hutchinson

Mr. and Mrs. R. J. Davison, Brumana, Syria.

c/o Church Missionary Society, Melbourne, Victoria, Australia  
Miss V. C. Mannett (sailed from Shanghai April 26).

c/o Church Missionary Society, Salisbury Square, London E.C.4  
Bishop and Mrs. Mowll

Mr. and Mrs. H. H. Taylor

Mr. and Mrs. Lee

Dr. Anderson (left Shanghai in March. To be married to  
Miss McNeil, formerly of Y.W.C.A., Shanghai).  
Address, Waipawa, Hawks Bay, New Zealand.



RECEIVED

SECOND STATEMENT OF THE COMMITTEE APPOINTED BY THE MEETING OF MEMBERS OF THE FACULTY OF THE WEST CHINA UNION UNIVERSITY HELD IN SHANGHAI ISSUED JUNE 1ST, 1927.

Educational News

There have been several interesting developments in the Educational situation during the month of May, and we will try to point out the changes which have occurred since our last statement.

Shanghai Baptist College (Shanghai)

The college is still open and running on the same basis as previously reported, with the foreign faculty commuting out from the Foreign settlement daily. The labor troubles have greatly increased so that at present it looks very much as though the college will be forced to close. The Labor Union is acting autocratically and has refused to agree to the most moderate demands of the Faculty Council. The Labor Union demands would increase the additional expenditure by \$10,000 per year besides the extra cost to the Faculty. Recent letters from the Labor Union take a threatening tone and though protesting 100% enthusiasm for the institution, they seem bent on its closing. Detailed statements were printed in the "North China Daily News" on May 25th and in the "Times" May 30th.

Lingnan University (Canton Christian College).

The College is still closed, despite all hopes for its reopening. Labor conditions are the dominating feature here. A letter in the "Times" on May 26th stated that there is strong anti-foreign feeling in Canton and the Labor Union exercises very considerable authority. The Labor demands were impossible and at present there are no servants on the campus. Only the hospital serving the Lingnan village is operating. Dr. and Mrs. Morse of Chengtu intend leaving for Canton on June 4th to take over the work in this hospital. It is reported that Dr. Cadbury had dismissed his Chinese assistants and had only one worker with him in the hospital. He is leaving for furlough so we presume that Dr. Morse will have practically all the responsibility.

Shantung Christian College (Tsinan)

Our information on May 12th, was that the foreign staff had all left on Consular advice. About 2/3 of the students also left at that time, but a few have come back and the Chinese members of the staff are keeping the institution open. The events of the last few days seem to indicate that they are coming into the war zone and Japanese as well as all other foreigners are being concentrated at Tsingtao.

Peking Union Medical College (Peking)

The work is going on as previously reported. At present there are a veral of our medical men there taking work. Dr. Liljestrand Drs. G. and E. R. Cunningham and Dr. Crawford report that they find the work very valuable.

Yale in China (Changsha)

Closed as previously reported and nothing at all going on. Dr. Hutchinson tells us that as far as he knows the buildings and equipment have not been interfered with.

Central China University (Boone)

The University was closed on May 17th. The Divinity School had been forced to close on May 8th after very hostile demonstrations mainly by the Middle school students. The Middle school has been the centre of trouble and all discipline was destroyed. The foreign faculty left last February and turned over control to a very efficient Chinese staff and hopes were entertained by all that they could cope

with the situation. Conditions became worse and worse until the lives of several of the faculty were threatened. The Chinese Vice-President Francis Wei just escaped with his life and had a harrowing trip to Shanghai. He was arrested here and accused of communistic tendencies. His life is still in danger.

A very complete statement of the situation at the College and Middle school is made by Dr. Shurman, Principal of Boone College and printed in the Shanghai papers (North China Daily News June 1st). This statement tells how the staff have sought to meet the government requirements during the last two years in appointing a Chinese Vice-President, making attendance at religious service voluntary and having religious courses in the college, voluntary. The Middle school students became unruly and refused to take examinations, tore up Bibles etc. Outside opposition by Government schools and the tense political situation in the Wuchang area destroyed discipline and the efficiency of classes. After the foreign staff left, the Chinese faculty tried valiantly to carry on, but could not maintain discipline and the schools became centres of propaganda. The culmination was in the hostile demonstration against the divinity students on May 8th and the Divinity School had to be closed. Evidence is available that much money was used to make trouble and break up the institution. The provincial Commissioner of education and head of the Wuchang propaganda department offered a free lodging and \$5.00 a month to any Boone student who would accomplish his desire and disrupt Boone. Fearing the reporting of their acts certain students voted that they would shoot any one who reported their doings to the authorities of the College. The place soon became a lawless centre of propaganda. The institution was closed officially on May 17th and great relief was felt that this passed off without serious trouble. The College students acted splendidly throughout the whole period.

Soochow University (Soochow)

The college has been carrying on under the Chinese staff since the foreign staff left in March. Several of the foreigners have planned to return at different times and finally some 10 or 11 of the faculty did return to Soochow. On arrival they found that the students had published a list of the staff whom they did not want back. Among these was one of the foreign members of the Faculty who returned to Soochow. The students made a demonstration the following day, put out posters etc. The Chinese staff tried to cope with the situation, stop the agitation and tear down the hand-bills. The college was closed by them for several days until the students agreed not to interfere in the administration. In the meantime the foreigners all decided to leave and departed at 5:30 A.M. after about 36 hours in Soochow. The University was then reopened.

University of Nanking (Nanking)

The University is running under Chinese Administrative Committee composed of the Chinese Co-deans and members of the faculty in Nanking. Mr. Reisner, dean of the College of Agriculture and Forestry has been appointed by them as advisor and representative of the foreign faculty. It happens that the Board of Managers who is over half Chinese is for the most part in Shanghai at present and is meeting frequently. The Administrative Committee send a representative frequently to Shanghai to confer with the Board of Managers. The government in Nanking has not interfered lately in the administration of the college and the Chinese staff are planning to keep open during the Summer to avoid military occupation of the property.

Ginling Womens College (Nanking)

Carrying on informally as a boarding school with what classes the limited number of Chinese teachers can manage. Enrollment not very large.

Fukien Christian College (Fuchow).

As reported previously, the minority of loyal students kept the institution open and held off the attempt to hand over the whole to the local government. The president, Dr. Gowdy, wished to resign and let the Chinese faculty prepare to register the institution with the government. The Board of Managers opposed the President's resignation for a time, but finally agreed as being the only way to carry on. After Dr. Gowdy's resignation they tried to get several Chinese to assume the office but unsuccessfully. Finally a Chinese commission was appointed to take control and Dr. Gowdy has proceeded on furlough.

West China Union University (Chengtou)

Still open and work reported to be going well. The University Day, April 19th was apparently a great success. The days preceding are fully described in a long letter from Mr. Sparling the Acting Vice-President and published in the "Shanghai Times" May 27th. The letter tells of the anxiety of the last few months and the fears of attempting an anniversary celebration. The weather cleared in time to permit all the events to be carried off with success and many friends came out to hear the speeches given in the Administration building. The newly created Senate acted as hosts and about 100 guests had been invited from various organizations in the city. The Alumnae conducted the program very efficiently and the day was a credit to the institution. The addresses were remarkably fine and paid tribute to the valued work done in the University by the foreign staff during the last fifteen or twenty years. The absence of such a large part of the foreign staff was spoken of with regret and references made to the loyalty and fine spirit of the student body. Rev. Lincoln Chang, Chinese Vice-President made a very strong speech and his work in the administrative office is highly commended by all. Mr. Chang Pao-fang, President of the Government University of Chengtu was present and made a fitting address commending the University in its work of teaching science and religion to the students and thus giving both important parts of a real modern education. The whole tone of the day was excellent and the spiritual ideals of the institution were brought to the fore.

The foreign members of the Faculty still in Chengtu are as previously reported with the exception of Mr. Dye of the Science Faculty who escorted Dr. Rock to the coast.

In the Senate minutes of March 24th, it is of special interest to note the minute to the President and the Board of Governors as to the appointment of a Chinese President. The Senate wishes to place before the authorities the demand of the Southern government for a Chinese President of the University and states that the Senate "will probably soon be compelled to register" and that this is one of the terms laid down.

The Middle schools have not been considered individually but in general they have been more radical and often the centres of agitation. In several places they have forced the colleges to close.

## NOTES ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION MAY 1927, SHANGHAI

On May 9th the Secretary of State for foreign affairs made a statement in the House of Commons in which he said that the British government had decided not to address a further note to Mr. Chen. In view of the momentous developments due to the discrediting of the Communists and their foreign advisers in the eyes of China, the question of punishment for the Nanking outrages had assumed an entirely different aspect. When a responsible government emerged from the present confusion north and south of the Yangtse it would be held responsible for the outrages on British nationals and compensation and reparation would be demanded.

The government of Nanking has been properly organized with Dr. C. C. Wu as Minister for Foreign Affairs. New officials have been appointed in Shanghai and at Canton. Official statements of the government differ little from those formerly issued from Canton except that the communists are included with imperialists as the enemies of the Nationalist Movement and anti-revolutionaries. Among those reported as having gone to Nanking are General Li Chin Lin who recently made a sensational escape from Tientsin after his arrest had been ordered by General Chang Tso-lin; Hsiong Ke-wu of Sze-chwan fame and Dr. Hu Shih who has just returned to China.

Important changes have taken place at Hankow. Under the rule of the local government conditions became very unsettled. In all quarters Chinese and foreign alike much apprehension was felt. The Japanese prepared to defend their Concession against attack and many of their nationals left for Japan. The number of foreign warships in the harbour was greatly increased and many Chinese sought refuge in the Concessions. Almost over night the policy of the government changed and orders were issued, and obeyed, that all organisations must control their membership so that no provocation of any kind be given to the nationals of any foreign country. At the time of writing there are many rumours of the flight or arrest of several of the best-known Communists but these are not confirmed.

Southern armies have continued their advance towards Peking General Tang Shen-chi leading the forces of the Nankow government appears to have won victories on the borders of Hupeh and Hunan, but the Hankow hospitals are reported to be full of his wounded. From Nanking the southern armies have crossed the river and advanced some distance along the Tientsin-Pukow line, General Sun Chwan-fang is said to have retreated to the northern borders of Kiangsu. There have been reports of advances and retreats of the forces under General Fung Yu-hsiang but not much is really known as to his strength or his objective. To some people it looks like a race between the Hankow and the Nanking governments to reach Peking first and thus secure the prestige of such a success. Yang Sen and a former Nationalist General appear to be attempting an attack on Hankow but early success do not seem to have been followed up.

Reports of the activities of the Communists in Hunan tell of very bad conditions there. Many people have lost their lives and some have been lucky enough to escape to Shanghai, among others some of the well-known Christian leaders.

May 30th passed off without incident. The very elaborate program decided on by a special committee of the Political Department does not seem to have been carried out except for the mass meetings and the closing of many Chinese shops.

## NEWS ITEMS

Letters from Shanghai seem to be reaching Chengtu in about a month, and those from Chengtu reach Shanghai in about three weeks. There is no evidence of censorship, although a few letters do seem to have failed to reach their destination.

During April a number of parcels were received in Chengtu, apparently being some which had got through Shanghai before the ban was put on parcels.

The statement made in our last re Governor Liu Wen Hwei's occupancy of the Beech house has not been verified.

At the recent University Day, refreshments were served before the meeting, and Pen Hsi Lin catered for it all at 12 cents per plate. A large slice of nut-cake frosted, 3 little cookies and a cup of coffee made a plate.

D. S. Dye arrived in Shanghai on May 6th, having come through from Chengtu in 20 days. This unexpected trip was made to accompany Dr. Rock who had been living for 25 months away from civilization and in high altitudes. They travelled from Chengtu with the Japanese consul, and from Chungking to Shanghai were on a steamer with almost 200 Japanese evacuees. They travelled as guests of the Japanese Government and were not allowed to pay for their passage. The trip was made without encountering evidences of anti-foreignism. (It may be of interest to note that on the small road from Chengtu to Chungking at least one field in every ten was in opium).

67 West China people attended a luncheon held on May 9th, to meet D. S. Dye and listen to the latest news from Chengtu.

A very enjoyable West China picnic was held in Jessfield Park on the afternoon of May 13th. 102 adults and children were present.

Dr. and Mrs. Morse, after having been in Shanghai for about a month, leave for Canton on June 4, Dr. Morse takes for one year, the place of Dr. Cadbury who is returning home for furlough. Their address will be, Lingnan University (Canton Christian College) Canton.

Dr. Anderson and Miss Eleanor MacNeil were married on April 28th, at Melbourne.

Mr. Song, of the Faculty of Religion, has arrived in England.

Mr. Paul E. Johnson has received news of the serious illness of his brother, and he and his family have returned home to America. Their address is Waterloo, Iowa, U. S. A.



RECEIVED  
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JUL 26 1927  
LIBRARY

THIRD STATEMENT OF THE COMMITTEE APPOINTED BY THE  
MEETING OF MEMBERS OF THE FACULTY OF  
THE WEST CHINA UNION UNIVERSITY HELD IN SHANGHAI.

ISSUED JULY 1ST, 1927.

TRANSFER

Note - The Committee wish to remind you that the items contained herein are not official and merely represent the information we have in Shanghai as to events which may be of interest to you from your contact with the W. C. U. U. The main purpose is to give news items of common interest to the staff of the University who are now scattered throughout several countries.

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EDUCATIONAL NEWS

The month of June has seen the closing of the school year in those institutions of higher learning that have remained open during the political upheavals of the year. We have had reports of "Commencement Exercises" at Shanghai Baptist, Soochow, Nanking, Canton Christian and Yenching, and although the word has not arrived from Chengtu, the indications as late as June 15th were that it would go well. A number of the members have attended the closing exercises at Shanghai Baptist College and we believe that foreigners visited Soochow and nearby places to attend the exercises of their schools. Although Canton Christian College has been closed, some work was carried on privately and "Commencement" held for the graduating students. They plan a Summer School and to open in the Fall.

During the month, the "reorganization schemes" for Canton Christian and Shanghai Baptist Colleges have been published and the full report sent by the Educational Union to the secretaries of the Mission Boards, Board of Governors and to Chengtu. These schemes provide for the renting of land, buildings and equipment for a five year period. At Canton the rental is one tael a year and at Shanghai is \$100,000. In the latter case, however, the Board in America agree to provide the rental as well as the running expenses and a budget comparable to the present one. The foreign teachers are to be maintained by the Home Societies but their appointment is to be at the request and with the consent of the Chinese legislative body on the field. The Board of Directors, the majority of whom are Chinese shall elect President, Treasurer and other administrative officers and be responsible to the Founders for the upkeep of the buildings and grounds. The local Labor Unions have been recognized and their demands for the 8 hour day, holidays, increase in pay, arbitration before discharge of employees, etc., have been agreed upon.

The members of the staff of the W. C. U. U. in Shanghai met during the last week of June, to hear a report of an interesting meeting of the executive of the Council of Higher Education for China as well as to have full reports of the reorganization schemes of the Colleges mentioned above. Certain other members

of the Missions were present and the names may be interesting as showing who is in Shanghai at present. There were present the following:- Mr. and Mrs. Dye, Mrs. J. Taylor, Dr. and Mrs. Best, Dr. and Mrs. Mullett, Dr. and Mrs. Agnew, Mr. Robertson, Dr. Havermale, Mr. and Mrs. Sewell, Messrs. G. Bell, R. O. Joliffe, W. Albertson, E. R. Willmott, Dr. and Mrs. Brown.

Three members of the faculty had attended the Council of Higher Education meeting and they reported somewhat as follows:- The group of about a dozen included President Nance of Soochow, President Fitch of Hangchow, President Hawks Pott of St. Johns, President (Mrs.) Thurston of Gin Ling, Dean Reisner of Nanking Agricultural College, President Chung of Lingnan University, Mr. Cressy, secretary of the Council, Mr. S. Chen and Mr. T. L. Tsao of the C. C. E. U. Mr. Tsao reported on a Government scheme of education for Chekiang and Kiangsu which is expected to be tried out in these two provinces. There is to be a Provincial University with its president the chief administrator of education for the province. His staff is to be the secretarial bureau of education and the legislative body to be made up of the Deans of Faculties. The scheme includes a post-graduate department for project work, higher, middle and primary school departments and an extension department for peasant and labor schools, libraries, etc. This provincial scheme would link up with a National scheme whose Ministry of Education would be the presidents of the provincial institutions and its Chancellor, the head of national education.

Mr. S. Chen reported a recent visit to Nanking and the uneasiness of the Christians there. There is a growing feeling that the government is going to take over all Mission properties and institutions and to hold those already taken over. Many rumors are about to this effect and the Chinese are saying this openly. Many reasons are advanced for the holding of the Hospital and other institutions by those who took them over and little is known of the contribution that private schools have to make to the country. The liberal educators are in favor of giving "private schools" liberal treatment, but they find themselves with little in the policy that is being adopted.

Mr. Chung who is also a member of the Nationalist Ministry of Education strongly urged all schools to register at once, lest they be taken over. He said that the government policy was not yet fully worked out and that it was hard to work against the newspapers, radical people and agitators who were against Mission schools. He said that this agitation would pass and in time the institutions might be given back to the Missions (perhaps after 25 or 30 years). The Chinese present tried to show him what state the buildings and equipment would likely be in at that time and Dr. Fitch pointed out how the Ningpo and Kingwha schools had been taken over and word received by the occupants from the Nanking government that these schools could be held. He also told how the Hangchow College had planned to register on the terms laid down by the Nanking government and the Canton regulations in accordance with the Commissioner of Education's approval,

but when ready to register they were told that the regulations had changed and now not one foreigner could be on the Board of Directors.

Dr. Munro, director of the International Institute at Columbia University and member of the American Boxer Indemnity Commission was a guest and spoke on the general educational policies of different countries. He cautioned us that we must remember that China is in an emotional stage and cannot be reasoned with. There is a "war psychology" about and we must realize it. There are two new features in the situation, first the power of propaganda and second, the rise of student authority in China. Previous methods of control are ineffectual against these forces. The Anglo-Saxon builds from the bottom up, the Chinese from the top down. If they believe their object right then they do not hesitate over means to get it and often use methods which seem to us to be unprincipled. The Chinese demands for the control of educational institutions in China are not as strong as those of Mexico and Turkey. We must also remember that the Western powers set China a bad example during the last war in their encouragement of China to enter the war for territorial gain and in the way the western countries treated personal rights and property rights of aliens.

The meeting of the staff of the W. C. U. U. also dealt with a telegram from Mr. Sparling sent from Chengtu on June 6th and received June 25th. It asked what likelihood there was of foreigners returning to teach in the University this Fall. After discussion it was felt that no assurance could be given at present and Dr. Best was asked to send a telegram to that effect.

It was resolved to have the secretary write letters to Dr. J. L. Stewart in Canada and Dr. C. Stubbs in England stating that as former Vice-presidents of the W. C. U. U. we considered their experience and friendly relations with the Chinese very desirable to the University during the present period of reorganization. If the way were open to Szechwan, they would be of great value and we therefore hope that when the time comes to return up-river they will be available.

The following statement is taken from the Chinese newspaper of June 12th (Shun Pao) and gives the adopted resolutions for the taking over of institutions established by foreigners in Chekiang province. This gives an idea of the plans in this province.

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Chekiang resolved to revoke educational authority within a limited time.

Dr. Tsiang Mong-lin, Commissioner of Education of Chekiang Province, proposed in the nineteenth meeting of the Provincial Council on June 8th to take over the educational institutions established by foreigners. The resolution was adopted as follows:

Since the recent policy of Chekiang provides that the educational institutions established by foreigners are to be taken

over (Section 5, Article 9), it is necessary to put it into force. Because since the beginning of the revolution schools established by foreigners have been directly taken over by the people in many places, as in the case of Ningpo and Kingwha, we have fixed on a definite program for revoking the administration of such institutions, in order that, first, educational authority may not be lost beyond recovery, thus harming the nation, and second, that the people may not attempt directly to take over such institutions, which would involve diplomatic entanglements.

We therefore issue the following regulations:

1. All educational institutions in the province of Chekiang established by foreign individuals or bodies should be transferred by September 1st, 1927, either to the provincial government or to Chinese citizens or to bodies which have been organized by Chinese citizens, and which are recognized by the provincial government of Chekiang.

2. Foreign individuals or bodies are at liberty to transfer their schools either to the provincial government or to Chinese individuals or to bodies organized by Chinese, but in doing so there shall be no conditional clauses. Prior to the transfer those who are about to take over an institution shall apply to the provincial government for approval and official recognition.

3. After the transfer that individual or body who has taken over an institution may erect some suitable memorial to, and may also request the provincial government to confer some reward on the foreign individuals or bodies who have established the institution, in order to record the contributions and services they have rendered the institution.

4. Foreign individuals or bodies after they have handed over their institution may aid in its development by moral or material support, but may not act on the board of managers or as president or principal of the institution.

5. Those who have taken over an institution from foreign control shall immediately apply to the provincial government for investigation and registration. After registration such institutions shall be treated on an equality with private schools.

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#### Notes on the political situation June 1927, Shanghai

Dramatic changes have taken place in North China this month. Following a week of conferences Chang Tso-lin on the 18th of June suddenly announced that he had accepted the office of Generalissimo and that the Peking government would be reorganized at once. Mr. Pan Fu, Minister of Communications was appointed Premier and leader of what is called the New Nationalist Party whose purpose is declared to be the promotion of nationalism and the improving of the administration of China so that the country may take its place in the family of nations. By this move Chang Tso-lin has

elevated himself to the position of commander-in-chief of the armies and navies, head of the government and in supreme control of the political and military branches. In his circular telegram the Generalissimo announced his determination to work for the suppression of communism and appealed to all those who had the welfare of the country at heart to cooperate in the common task. This political move has been followed by a complete re-grouping and reorganisation of the armies of the North with Sun Chuan-fang in supreme control.

Early in the month the northern troops in Honan collapsed and retreated into Shantung. The Hankow troops were not able to follow up their advantage because of the great losses they had suffered at the hands of the Red Spears. General Feng Yu-hsiang then appeared on the scene and a conference was held in Chengchow attended by several of the leading men in the Hankow government. Following this conference reports from Hankow announced that satisfactory arrangements had been made with General Feng who was to take control in Honan. Within a few days, however, it was learned that Generals Feng and Chiang were talking things over in Hsüchow and the result of this conference was seen in a joint telegram sent to the government at Hankow intimating that the communist members of the government must go; the list included the name of Borodin. It appears therefore that General Feng has definitely thrown in his lot with the Nanking government and that the position of the Hankow group is precarious.

General Tang Sheng-chi in command of the forces of the Hankow government has withdrawn his armies into Hunan and southern Hupeh. Yang Sen has been forced to withdraw from Ichang and the city occupied by Hankow troops. One report says that Yang Sen is back in Wanhsien while another has it that he is expected to arrive in Shanghai shortly.

During the early part of the month British and American troops were moved north from Shanghai to Tientsin in view of the threatened disorder following on the advance of the southern forces towards Peking. The Japanese government sent troops to Tsingtao and announced its intention to protect Japanese lives and property in Shantung. The Nanking government has protested against the sending of these troops and an attempt is being made to organise and put into effect a boycott of Japanese goods and business of every kind. It is not yet clear what success this movement will have.

In Shanghai a well-organised agitation is being worked up among the Chinese residents of the Settlement against the collection of the two per cent tax increase as determined at the rate-payers annual meeting in April. The Provisional Court is also the subject of controversy and difficulties are likely to arise from the proposal of the Nanking government to collect a tax of two months rent from the Chinese residents of the Settlement. Most of the barbed wire has been removed from the streets, but not from the boundaries of the Settlement and the French Concession.

## NEWS NOTES.

We hear from Chengtu that mail is arriving quite irregularly, especially papers. A Literary Digest for November 27 had just arrived on May 30. Tons of mail are reported to be held up in Chungking. However, letters from Mrs. Taylor to her husband are getting through in from five to six weeks.

Foreign members of the Faculty now in Chengtu write of the relief they feel at having much of the detail work formerly handled by foreigners now handled by Chinese.

The Senate is asking the Missions for \$2,000 extra with which to pay extra salaries in case none of the teachers now in Shanghai are able to return.

Mr. Liao of the Foreign Language School continues very friendly, and wants more teachers to help him in the Fall. Miss Brethorst, Dr. Manly, and Mr. Cranston have been helping there this term.

The following comes from a letter from Chengtu dated June 11: "This week there has been fighting between the forces of Liu Wen Huei and the forces of Liu I Jiu. The former wants more territory, and is pushing the latter out of Shwang Liu, Hsin Gin, and Pen Shan Hsien. It may be that he will try to get him out of Yachow".

Another Chengtu note: "On May day Dorothy Ellen (Simkin) celebrated her first birthday anniversary. Mrs. Lewis presented her with a beautiful little birthday cake bearing one tiny candle. The card read "With love from the oldest to the youngest American woman in Szechwan."

Hsu Chang Lin, '26, of the Friends' College, was married in April to Miss Li, of our Woman's College. The wedding took place in the new Friends' College building. They are now in charge of the Friends' Mission work in Tungliang.

Fu Gien Wen, of the Baptist College, planned to be married during June in Vandeman to Miss Dzu, a Normal School graduate, who has been for the past few years principal of the Baptist Girls' School in Chengtu.

Dr. Du Swun Dei, who is working at the P. U. M. C., expected to be married during the first week in July to Miss Ho Chin Ru, a graduate of Tungchwan Friends' Girls School, San Hsi Gai Middle School, and the methodist Nurses' Training School in Peking. She has been engaged in public health work in Peking during the past year.

Word comes from Canada that Miss Foster has been appointed Dean of Women in the University of British Columbia.

Mrs. Dickinson and children sailed for Canada on the Empress of Russia on June 30 from Kobe.

Dr. Crawford is with the International Unit at Hankow, having come down from Peking with a group of doctors and nurses in response to the call for help put out by the government at Hankow. The Hankow hospitals are found to be not so full as reported.

The Morses write from Canton that they are feeling rather cut off from West Chinaites. Letters from Shanghai take a week or ten days to reach Canton. Housewives there do their own marketing on account of servant troubles. The Morses have as servants a non-union cook and his wife, who do all the work and to whom they pay \$35.00. This is considered quite a bargain. Living expenses there are high. No ice, no electric lights, no wells. So in many ways living seems even less convenient than in the West.

Drs. Mullett and Agnew have opened a dental office in Shanghai and are kept busy attending to the needs of West China missionaries and others.

Mr. Dye made a six day trip to Hangchow and Shaoshing in company with some missionaries of the East China Baptist Mission who went to their stations for a few days to attend committee meetings. Although Hangchow is considered China's model city, Mr. Dye thinks we have more actual miles of improved streets in Chengtu, though we have fewer really good wide ones. Baptist work in these two centers is being all carried on by Chinese and seems to be going well. The trip from Shaoshing to Hangchow was made by auto-bus; but this is a new method of transportation even for this part of China, as that road has been finished only a little over a year.

Word comes from Luchow of serious looting, and the occupation of all the Mission property there. Mission property at Fuchow has also been occupied.

A Summer Bible School is being planned by our University folk at Chengtu. Some of those not needed for teaching in this will go to Kwanhsien for the summer.

Miss Brethorst will go to Suiling during the summer to give some supervision to the work there.

Mr. Moncrieff is busily occupied with the Emergency School of Chinese Studies, which is being carried on for ten weeks this summer. A very interesting series of lectures and language study classes are being given. Classes are held for the most part in the American School buildings, but some are also being held at the Y. M. C. A. building at 20 Museum Road., for the benefit of those living too far from the American School. About one hundred are enrolled.



The McCartneys left Shanghai for Chungking about three weeks ago and are now supposed to have arrived in Chungking, though no word from them has been received. They took advantage of the sailing of six boats of the Yangtse Rapids Navigation Company which, lured by the high freight rates, started out at their own risk. The Chi Chwen struck a rock, and then was fired upon and looted by bandits. We understand that the boat is a total loss. The captain and two comrades were removed by bandits and are being held for ransom.

Dr. Kelly has taken up a medical practice at Port Hope.

Mr. Johns is taking some studies in the Department of Education in Vancouver.

The End.

REC'D  
COMMUNICATIONS  
DIVISION  
AUG 15 1957

INDEXED

FOURTH STATEMENT OF THE COMMITTEE APPOINTED BY THE  
MEETING OF MEMBERS OF THE FACULTY OF  
THE WEST CHINA UNION UNIVERSITY HELD IN SHANGHAI  
ISSUED AUGUST 1ST, 1927

WEST  
CHINA

EDUCATIONAL NEWS

WEST  
CHINA

Students' Demands Officially Answered.

We in China have recognize the important part played by the students mass and at times we have been much worried by student agitations and attempts to reduce the schools to anything but true educational institutions. Hence it is interesting to see how the Central Educational Commission of the Nationalist Government has replied to the demands made by the Shanghai students union, as these are typical of demands all over the country. Here are some of the demands and replies given by the Government Education Commission:-

1. Demand. Students shall have freedom of calling meetings, organizing societies, speaking and publication except where actions would be counter-revolutionary.

The reply is "yes" provide that such action will not interfere with the school administration.

2. Demand. To reduce tuition fees to an amount to be determined by a joint conference between the educational authority and the student body, after a consideration of the financial condition of the school.

The reply is that the reduction is in accord with the spirit of mass education, but the ways and means of carrying it out, remain to be investigated. The way of the demand is not practicable.

3. Demand. To have student representation on the school administrative body and in faculty meetings.

The reply is that the Central Executive Committee has ordered the Commission on education to stop students movements for freedom of choosing teachers and for representation on faculty meetings. This the commission has decided to carry out, but each school shall permit students to present their opinions in a written form, officially signed by responsible persons, to the principal of the school, in order that the principal may bring up such opinions at the faculty meeting or other meetings, for reference.

4. Demand. A unified educational system.

Resolution. The educational system should be unified, but at this transitional period there are unavoidable difficulties and so unification necessarily must take time. The Provincial educational bureaus should notify their schools to adopt the new educational system as soon as possible.

5. Demand. To have freedom in choosing teachers.

Resolution. The freedom of students to choose teachers would greatly interfere with school administration and therefore shall be prohibited. The securing of good and competent teachers is, beyond question, the responsibility of the principal of every school.

6. Demand. To establish free primary schools and secondary schools to the full extent.

Resolution. Free schools of primary education should certainly be established to the full extent, but the question of an addition to the educational funds has not yet been solved. So that even though this policy is an excellent one, it is simply "empty words". Therefore at present, such free schools should be established only to the extent that the educational funds will permit. The establishment of free secondary schools at present in China would be quite premature. There are even many foreign countries which as yet can not do so.

7. Demand. Boy and girl students shall have freedom in correspondence in social intercourse and in matrimonial arrangements.

Resolution. There can be no question that as a principle, boy and girl students should have freedom in correspondence and social intercourse. The government has made no prohibition in this matter. From the aspect of the school, however, there may be certain exceptions or limitations necessary on account of special conditions. With regard to the matter of matrimony, this request is outside the field of education. It is a great social problem involving the study of age and blood relationships; it is not a problem of boy and girl students.

8. Demand. To regain educational rights.

Resolution. In regard to the regaining of educational rights, this commission has already issued regulations for private schools and has ordered the provincial educational authorities to adhere to them. This question therefore is not difficult solution.

9. Demand. For uniformity in the direction of physical education; and that the school athletic associations shall be managed by the student body.

Resolution. That in each district or locality, specialists in physical education, one appointed by each school, shall form an organization to consult on all matters of physical education in that district, and to advise the schools in what way their work in physical education should be improved. The athletic association of each school may be represented in this organization by students with special athletic qualifications.

10. Demand. To abolish periodical, mechanical examinations such as term examinations, and to adopt a system of accumulative credits of daily marks.

Resolution. The daily marks should certainly be used, but the periodical examinations must not be abolished. With regard to the ratios for daily marks and periodical examinations, the procedure was fixed by this commission in Canton, and is herewith attached note. Term marks 30% to 50%, daily marks count 40% to 60% and the marks for attendance 10% to 20%. Absence less than one-tenth of the total time to receive no reduction, one tenth of the time, a reduction of 10% and one-fifth of the time a reduction of 20%. In special circumstances where no daily marks the term examination shall count for 80% to 90% and the attendance marks from 10% to 20%.

11. Demand. To have co-education from primary schools to universities.

Resolution. Co-education may be allowed in all grades of schools, but in cases of necessity, boy and girl schools may be separate.

12. Demand. Schools shall not be occupied by the army.

Resolution. It is taken for granted that schools should not be occupied by the army. If there are such happenings, the school authorities must report to the local educational authority at once.

13. Demand. To carry out "party education" at once.

Resolution. "Party Education" is considered at present the most important question of education, but the ways and means of carrying it out shall be fixed and officially announced by this commission, in conjunction with the youth bureau of the central committee of the Kuomintang, and not by individual provinces.

14. No counter revolutionary person shall be allowed to remain in any school.

Resolution. Certainly no counter revolutionary students shall be allowed to remain in the schools, but students shall not be allowed arbitrarily to adopt a domineering attitude toward any student.

15. Demand. To abolish religious education.

Resolution. To abolish religious education simply means to separate religion from education, and is really not a violation of the principle of freedom of religious belief. The regulations for private schools, promulgated by this commission, have made a limitation to the propaganda of religion, based on the principle of religious liberty, and provincial educational bureaus have been ordered to adhere strictly to this regulation. So that the question of "abolition" of religious education is not a difficult problem to solve.

16. Demand. The school shall expel students only with the approval of the student association of the school.

Resolution. This matter is absolutely impracticable. Not only would it put many obstacles in the way of school administration, but also it would also cause dissension among the students.

"Regaining Educational Rights"

(收回教育權)

On July 12th, 1927, a formal request went forward from the CHINA CHRISTIAN EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION asking the Central Educational Commission for a clear statement on the meaning and method of regaining educational rights. A translation of their answer is as follows:

Your petition has been noted and in reply we would state that in regard to the regaining of educational rights, this commission has no idea of confiscating any property. The taking over of a private school must be recognized and approved by the educational authority, after a complete investigation of the situation, and may not be taken over arbitrarily by any individual person or organized group. The procedure of taking over a school must be based on the regulations issued by the government.

In regard to this matter this commission has recently determined that all private schools, including mission schools and foreign supported schools, shall be allowed to register in accordance with the official regulations and to continue to be maintained. People of all classes and students of private schools may, on no account, try deliberately to destroy a private institution by using the slogan "Regain Educational Rights". This commission has ordered the provincial educational bureaus to notify the public of this so that they may understand and act accordingly. You must not be concerned; certain points in your petition (x) manifest a misunderstanding.

You are requested to transmit this explanation to all your schools.

Meeting with Mr. Cressy.

At the request of Mr. Cressy, the Secretary of the Council of Higher Education, the West China group appointed Messrs. Albertson, Dye, Havermale, Robertson, Sewell and Spreckley to act as a committee to meet him and discuss certain problems in connection with the registration of the University. The Committee met Mr. Cressy who gave an account of the various difficulties in the way of registration and how they had been met, particularly in the case of Nanking, Fu Kiang (Shanghai Baptist) and Lingnan Universities. An effort was being made to secure registration before September 1st, this being the last day allowed by the Nationalist Government. It was strongly urged in those cases where the necessary changes in the constitution could not be brought about by this time that provisional application for registration with request for extension of time should be filed with the authorities. Although it was made clear to Mr. Cressy that we were not in a position to draw up any scheme for the W. C. U. U. it was felt that the information gathered was of value and consequently Mr.

Albertson was asked to obtain copies of the revised constitutions of the various universities together with other data relating to registration and send them to Chengtu and also to Dr. Beech in America.

The same evening the committee again met but without the presence of Mr. Cressy. Besides confirming the above it was also suggested that Drs. Beech, Carscallen, Stewart, Stubbs and Wallace could talk the question of registration over together in the light of recent developments so that they might be in a position to guide the Board of Governors at its meeting in the autumn. It was further agreed that we should study the revised constitutions of the various universities with particular reference to the question of control and the holding of property and forward any conclusions to Chengtu and to Dr. Beech. Mr. Albertson was asked to write to Mr. Sparling asking that a copy of his report to the Board of Governors or any similar documents should be sent to Shanghai for our information.

#### Political Notes July 1927

During the first week of July a General Chen commanding troops in the vicinity of Tsingtao went over to the South and it was expected that that port would be occupied by Southern troops. The general in charge of Tsingtao remained loyal to his chief and the threatened turn over did not materialise. This General Chu Hsiang-ben was the military commander in Chengtu when the Republic of China was proclaimed in 1911. The Japanese troops repaired the railway line and restored communication between Tsinanfu and Tsingtao. The arrival of about a thousand Japanese soldiers in Tsinanfu is said to have restored confidence to the people of that city.

An anti-communist coup was brought off in Hankow and the city placed under the control of troops co-operating with General Tang Seng-chi. An agitation among the laborers that trade and industry should resume and that they be given money for food created a situation that the anti-communist military men took advantage of to drive out the Russian and Chinese communists. Borodin left Hankow for Kuling but after only a short stay he returned and later is reported to have left by rail for the north. A number of motor cars well provisioned with supplies was taken along for the trip to Russia from the head of the railway line. All the leading officials known as Communists are said to have departed from Hankow for parts unknown and the civilian government is now under the control of Sun Fo acting in co-operation with General Tang Seng-chi. This government is reported to have declined the invitation of Marshal Feng Yu-hsiang to attend a conference at Kaifeng and to have declared that General Chiang Kai-shek was a counter-revolutionary and must submit to the mandates of the Nankow government. The Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang would seem to be still located in Wu-han.

Rather disquieting reports have come from Nanking as to the military situation. Forces under generals formerly at Hankow and

said to be communists have been concentrating in Kiangsi and threatening an attack on Nanking. There are reports of great movements of troops up and down the Yangtse and big battle near Kiukiang is anticipated. The northern advance on Peking seems definitely to have been held up and in Peking it is claimed that Hsuehowfu has been reoccupied by General Sun Chuan-fang. Persistent rumours insist that agents of General Chiang have been in Peking seeking an armistice and even an agreement with Generalissimo Chang Tso-lin but these reports are officially denied by Nanking. Very little is known of the movements of General Feng Yu-hsiang. Canton is reported to be in a state of nervous tension and General Li Tsai-hsin hostile to General Chiang Kai-Shek and refusing to obey the mandates of the Nanking government.

On July 11 the Chief Inspectorate of Salt Revenue Peking issued a notification that the contemplated flotation of a loan by the Nanking Authorities of \$60,000,000.00, to be guaranteed on the Salt revenue of the Kiangsu and Chekiang provinces could never be recognised as constituting a valid obligation. The decision to issue bonds to the amount stated above was reached at a special financial conference held in Nanking when it was estimated that in order to meet the military expenditure incidental to the Northern Punitive Expedition this additional sum would be required over and above the estimated revenue from the regular sources, before the end of the year.

In a proclamation dated the 20th inst. the Nanking government stated its intention to introduce a radical change in taxation as from September 1st. the abolition of likin and a declaration of tariff autonomy. Until such time as a national tariff could be adopted and put into force the loss arising from the abolition of likin is to be compensated for by the raising of the customs duty on ordinary goods to 12½ per cent and on luxuries to from 15 to 57½ per cent according to their classification. These proposals have been considered by the Diplomatic Body and have been referred to the Home Governments. At a meeting of the Committee of the Shanghai General Chamber of Commerce a strong protest was made against these proposed taxes and a copy sent to the Senior Consul.

The Chinese Ratepayers' Association has continued the agitation against the payment of the increased rate of 2% and appealed to the Nanking government for support. The Council determined to enforce the law and notified certain places of business that unless the taxes were paid by a certain date their doors would be closed. Some paid up but others refused and their doors were sealed and in other cases the supply of electric power was cut off. Many of the better class Chinese business men were anxious to find a way out of the impasse and several meetings have been held with representatives of the Council resulting in an agreement which is to be announced shortly. The main issue as usual is that of saving face although many feared serious trouble owing to the evident intention of certain political agitators to make capital out of the apparent repudiation of the authority of the Council.

In Yunnan an army is reported to be marching on the capital



for overthrowing the government. A correspondent in Kweichow speaks highly of the government of General Chow and states that the province is enjoying peace and prosperity. Letters from Szechwan state that Liu Yu-chiu has been thoroughly defeated and has retired. Yen Sen's name has not appeared in the papers during the month while Wu Pei-fu is again reported to be wanderer deserted by all but a few faithful followers.

It is announced from Nanking that the government has denounced the school for Chinese established in Moscow and stated that no more students from China will be allowed to attend the school.

The Japanese government made very strong representations to the Nanking authorities in connection with the anti-Japanese boycott which for a time threatened to reach serious proportions. As a result the appeal of the local agitators for support failed and a public statement was issued warning people against involving the government in international difficulties. Nothing is now heard of the boycott locally.

Two battalions of the Shanghai Defence Force, the Durhams and the Gloucesters sailed from Shanghai on Saturday July 23rd en route for India. The Chancellor of the Exchequer has announced in the House of Commons that no supplementary grants will be asked for to cover the expenses in connection with the sending of troops to China.

#### Personal and Other Items

Letters finally arriving from the MacCartneys reported the trip to Chungking not an altogether comfortable one, due to the great numbers of soldiers on the steamer most of the time. Two days they went practically without food as the soldiers took everything. It was very hot, and the sanitary condition of the boat became unspeakably bad. Nevertheless they got through, and were warmly welcomed in Chungking. Mr. Rape has since received a letter signed by 13 merchants and prominent business men in Chungking urging that he also return as soon as possible.

The Yangtse Rapids boat which met with an accident on the up-river trip was not lost, as reported in our last. All the boats returned to Shanghai. At last report the company had not decided whether they would attempt the trip again or not.

In the West there has been the usual summer crop of fighting between the military generals. The Baptist property at Yachow on which Mrs. Salquist is living is situated right next to the Yamen, so that when Liu Wen Hua of Chengtu attacked Liu I Jiu she and her school girls were right in the line of fire. For three consecutive days they lived in a rain of shell and bullet fire. The school girls took Union exams with bullets raining on the roof over their heads. Soldiers kept coming into the compound with this, that or the other excuse; but an encouraging feature of the situation is that Mrs. Salquist seemed to be recognized as a final authority whenever she appeared. There was no damage to lives or property connected with the Mission.

Drs. Manly and Lewis made a trip to Tzechow at the end of June to attend a Finance Committee meeting.

Mr. Openshaw left Chengtu about the first of July, planning to spend the month in and about Suifu.

The plan of holding a summer school at the university was given up as there were too few applicants to make it feasible.

The members of the Union University faculty now in Shanghai had an interesting evening together on July 15th when they had the privilege of listening to a rehearsal of the past three year's events at Lingnan University (Canton Christian College) given by Dr. Cadbury of that place, Dr. Cadbury and family are on their way home for furlough.

Some letters from Chengtu have recently come through in 19 days.

The entire month of July has been one blaze of heat in Shanghai. It rained on the Fourth, but since then there has been only the respite of one brief thunder shower. How we long for Behluding, Kwansien, and Omei!

In a severe thunder storm which struck the campus of Lingnan University Mrs. Morse had a close call. The house was struck, and a hole knocked through the roof big enough for a man to crawl through. Chimney-holes all over the house were blown out, and everything covered with soot and litter. Two of the Cadbury boxes packed in the attic were broken into. Anna was alone in the house and was in the room where there was the most litter. Tho very much shocked, she apparently escaped unharmed.

The courses of the Emergency School of Chinese Studies have been well attended in spite of the heat. "China's Foreign Relations" by Dr. Roberts, "Chinese Buddhism" by Dr. Reichelt, and "A History of Chinese Philosophy" by Dr. Lyon have been perhaps the most popular of the lecture courses. Some lectures are now being given by Dr. Julean Arnold, American Commercial Attache.

The Moncrieffs have gone to Japan for a month's holiday.

Mr. Brewer is intending to take graduate work at the University of Chicago this Fall.

Miss Downer is studying at Berkeley.

Mr. Bayne has been appointed on the staff of Acadia Baptist College, Wolfville, Nova Scotia.

Dr. Stewart has been appointed professor in philosophy at the University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon.

The Francks write that the doctors give them no hopes of

Margaret's ever being able to walk again. There is, however, a little slow improvement.

Lo Shi Dzen, one of our women students from our U. S. U., who came down river about the same time that the foreigners did in the spring, recently took examinations for entering a Nationalist school at Nanking, and passed with the highest marks among a great number of women candidates. She has gone to Nanking with a determination to maintain her Christianity and make it count.

Dr. Wallace Crawford sailed for Canada on the President Cleveland on July 30. We understand that he was acting on medical advice.

Messrs. Mortimore and Dickinson are to make a tour of the U. C. C. Mission, stations in the upper half of Szechwan during the summer.

We are happy to record the birth of a son, on August 1st at the Country Hospital, Shanghai to Dr. and Mrs. Agnew. He was named Robert Caldwell.

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RECEIVED  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
MAY 15 1964  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

~~D. B. ...~~

SIXTH STATEMENT OF THE COMMITTEE APPOINTED BY THE  
MEETING OF MEMBERS OF THE FACULTY OF  
THE WEST CHINA UNION UNIVERSITY IN SHANGHAI.



ISSUED OCTOBER 1ST, 1927.

**TRANSFER**

Educational News

North China and Shantung

The retreat south ward of the nationalist armies has, temporarily at least, very greatly relieved the tenseness in the situation and the apprehension of the immediate future. Practically all of the Christian schools will be open this autumn. For the most part the missionaries who left their stations this spring are back at their work.

Yenching University opened on September 19th with every prospect for a full enrolment. President Stuart reports that the "outlook is excellent."

Shantung Christian University have just concluded an excellently attended supplementary school, which gave students of all departments; Arts, Science, Theology and Medicine, an opportunity to make up some of the time lost last spring. The regular courses began September 15th. While the student enrolment in Arts and Science is considerably less than last year, the number of students in Medicine and Theology is approximately the same as that of last year, which was a record attendance. The total number is about three hundred. All of the foreign members of the staff who did not go on furlough have returned to the university. The addition of a number of new Chinese teachers and younger instructors of fine promise affords a special opportunity for experiment with a staff which must become predominantly Chinese. Dr. Harold Balme has resigned from the presidency and the Field Board of Managers, the majority of whom are Chinese, are to confer with the chairman of the Board of Trustees, Mr. F. H. Hawkins, who is now in China, on the question of securing a Chinese to fill this position. Dr. Li T'ien-lu has been appointed vice-president.

Central China

One might infer from the reports which continually arrive from Central China of the occupation of Christian schools by soldiers that no Christian educational work is being carried on. It is therefore of great interest to learn of the large number of primary schools which will be open this autumn. The loyalty and courage, of the Chinese leaders and the foreign missionaries who remained in Hankow, their determination to carry on and their faith in their work in the midst of opposition and tremendous difficulties inspire great admiration and a conviction of the undying vitality of the Christian message.

In Hunan, practically no Christian educational work will be conducted. Only in out-of-the-way towns there may be a few unofficial small primary schools conducted by the local church people in a very quiet way. As the government is in no condition to conduct education,

and, indeed, has issued an order that no school above primary shall be allowed to open this autumn, the "educational vacuum," of which Mr. Eugene Chen liked to speak, is a reality.

In Hupeh, on the other hand, although practically no school of middle school grade is open, many schools have been able to carry on right through the period of turmoil, and others which were closed last spring will be open this autumn. The American Church Mission have closed some of the poorer schools and strengthened the remainder, and have them all registered with the government. They are planning to open one boys' and one girls' junior middle school of a supplementary character just to keep the institutions alive. The London Mission, while no schools of middle school grade will be attempted, are opening their primary and higher primary schools in the districts where conditions make it possible, most of these schools will be registered.

Nanking University and Shanghai Baptist College have had an official reply from the Nanking government granting their request for a postponement of the final date for making application for registration. The registration at Baptist College is the largest in its history.

Nanking University has opened with a fair registration but the foreign members of the staff have not returned as yet. The foreign staff of Ginling has returned to Nanking and the term has opened with very bright prospects for a good year's work.

West China Union University has opened with a fair enrollment, the latest figures received in Shanghai were 170 University students and over 100 at the Middle School. Referring to the departure of Dr. and Mrs. Manly a letter says, "This hits the Faculty of Arts hard and we do not see how we can cover the work. Mrs. Manly is Head of the English department and Dr. Manly teaches American History with other subjects. So we continue, one day glad of re-inforcements and the next having to say good-bye to those whom we do not know how to spare."

#### Political Notes, September.

On the 9th of September a number of leading members of the Kueh-mintang including several cabinet ministers of the Wuhan government arrived in Shanghai for the purpose of holding preliminary conferences in preparation for the National Kuehmintang Convention to be held in Nanking. Mr. Wang Chin-wei and Mr. Sun Fo were members of the party. A series of informal conferences took place with almost all the old leaders present: the outstanding absentees were General Chiang Kai-shek, Mr. Hu Han-min and Mr. T. V. Soong. Before the delegates left for Nanking it was announced that complete agreement had been reached and that the reunification of the Kuehmintang was in sight.

At the Nanking Conference Dr. C.C. Wu was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Sun Fo, Minister of Finance, Mr. Wang Pei-chun Minister of Communications, Dr. Wang Chung-hui Minister of Justice and Mr. Tsai Yuan-pei Minister of Education. A Political Committee with an Executive Board and a Military Committee with a Board of Chairmen also was appointed. These committees include all the names of present and former leaders many of whom are now in retirement. Foreign comment appears uncertain as to whether a genuine reunification of the party has resulted or whether there has been merely a consolidation of the Nanking faction with a few former Wu-hanites included for the sake of appearance.

Mr. Eugene Chen is reported from Moscow as having issued a statement in which the following passages occur:- They (the Nanking government) will fail and go the way of those before them who have sought to rule in like fashion. But they must not be permitted to involve in their ultimate ruin the heritage left to the people by Dr. Sun Yat-sen. The master's authentic followers must rally to the support of his true living representative in the person of Mrs. Sun Yat-sen and resolutely seek to prevent the real Kuehmintang from sinking to the level of a mere secretariat to the neo-tuchunate that is now emerging from the mud of the Yangtse and from the disloyalties and intrigues of political compradores who are despoiling the revolution of its material and moral conquests.

Hankow experienced a scare or two during the month when martial law was declared and serious developments were narrowly averted. On the 20th a fracas occurred when a gang armed with automatic pistols rescued a prisoner who was being escorted to the native city. Chinese troops fired on Japanese sentries wounding one and blue-jackets were landed to re-inforce the troops in the Japanese concession. There was some machine gun firing but later the situation became normal. The amount of paper money now in circulation in the Wu-han area is said to be something like 100 million dollars. General Tang Seng-chi returned in great haste to Hankow when trouble threatened and now seems to be in complete control there. The Treasurer and Secretary of the Foreign office were accused of embezzling public funds and suddenly disappeared. This is the second Director of the ex-British concession that has had to flee.

In the north fighting has begun again. General Fung Yu-hsiang denounced General Chin Yun-ao and severely defeated him. One report states that assistance is being sent to Ghin Yun-ao by Tang Shen-chi. A military council in Peking decided to start an expedition against Marshal Fung Yu-hsiang but during the last days of the month Fengtien and Shansi armies came into conflict and the model governor is reported to have announced his intention to assist Marshal Fung against Peking. If this proves to be true it seems certain that decisive battles will be fought during October with the capital as the prize.

#### Personal and Other News Items

"The party that went to Behluting tell of the breaking into the cottages by robbers:- some of them seem to have been servants of foreigners who went up in October and November during the boycott this seems to be borne out by the fact that nearly all the secret hiding places we had for storing our goods were opened. The Phelps', Dyes' and Lindsays' bungalows were ransacked thoroughly. The Smalls' and Dickensons' had nearly everything taken except the big heavy pieces. The Beechs' and Brown-Crawfords' were badly damaged by storms and need new roofs!"

"The Manly and Simkin families rode all the way in rickshaws from Kwansien over flooded roads, in places it was knee deep, Simkins knee deep."  
Yoh Tsoh Dsoh, proctor of the Baptist Middle School dormitory, and students from the Yachow district returned to Chengtu by way of Kia-ting as the robbers are out in force between Beh Dzan and Chiungchow. This is the only road near the capital which seems to be infested.

The Middle School Management committee, all Chinese members, have voted to open a Junior Middle School this next term. This seems to be in order to get more students and so come nearer paying expenses. Dr. J. Taylor has arranged to go to the Chengtu University in the city to teach English Literature two hours a week. This University tried to get a foreigner up from Shanghai to teach English but could not do so. Mr. Liao continues to be very friendly.

A telegram from Chungking dated Sept. 3rd, contained the good news of Mr. and Mrs. Dyes' safe arrival. They left for Chengtu on the 5th, arriving on the morning of the 14th.

Dr. and Mrs. Manly left, Chengtu on the 13th and reached Shanghai on the 1st of Oct. Mrs. Manly is going on to Peking to consult a specialist at the P.U.M.C.

Dr. Agnew and family left for Peking on the 28th, accompanied by Mrs. Geier. Dr. Agnew will take up some special work at P.U.M.C.

Dr. and Mrs. Havermale and son have also gone to Peking. He has been appointed assistant principal of the M. E. Theological Seminary. Our W.C.U.U. folk will form quite a group in the capital city.

Bishop Grose, Mr. Rape and Dr. Gentry left for Chungking on the 28th. They took a Jardine Matheson steamer to Ichang and expect to get a Yangtse Rapids boat from there to Chungking.

Messrs Bell, Hartwell and Rackham also left Shanghai for Chengtu on the evening of the 29th.

Miss A. I. Hutchinson would like her friends to know that after November 9th her address will be % Miss Owen, 3 Raffles Quay, Singapore.



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RECEIVED  
UNIVERSITIES  
JOINT OFFICE

Political Situation as  
Seen by national  
Christian Council  
of China - C.Y. Cheng  
& Lee

# THE NATIONAL CHRISTIAN COUNCIL OF CHINA

The Missions Building, 23 Yuen Ming Yuen Road  
SHANGHAI, CHINA

會 進 協 教 督 基 國 全 華 中

**Chairman:** Dr. David Z. T. Yui  
**Vice-Chairmen:** Dr. R. Y. Lo  
Dr. Luella Miner  
**Treasurer:** Dr. John Y. Lee  
**Honorary Secretary:** Rt. Rev. L. H. Roots  
**General Secretary:** Dr. C. Y. Cheng  
**Secretaries:** Rev. K. T. Chung  
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Rev. E. C. Lobenstine  
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Rev. T. C. Bau	Dr. Luella Miner
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Dr. John Y. Lee	Miss Ting Shu-ching
Rev. Lin Yu-shu	Rev. Wang Kang-ho
Dr. R. Y. Lo	Dr. David Z. T. Yui
Rev. J. D. MacRae	

April 8, 1927.

Dr. James M. Yard,  
West China Union University,  
150 Fifth Avenue,  
New York.

Dear Dr. Yard:

It was very good of you to send me a postcard with the picture of the Chicago Tabernacle upon it. It was indeed a new kind of a Church adapted to the need of the modern day. I hope this is a sign that the Christian Church is becoming more and more serviceable and useful to meet human needs, spiritual, intellectual and physical.

It was good of you to make mention of my accepting the general secretaryship of the National Christian Council. I felt at the time, and I feel the same still, of my unworthiness in undertaking such a great responsibility, but I am hoping, in the very near future to secure some more competent person who can step into the Council and take up the leadership and help its work to move forward. I am now holding that position for that right person to come. I am sure, you will be ready to remember us in your prayer, that we may be directed by the guiding hand of God that the Council may be of some real help to the Christian movement in this country.

The present political situation is affecting seriously the work of the Christian Church and that of the Council. Many criticisms have been showered upon the Council by some of our missionary friends who would not be sorry to see the downfall of this cooperative body of the Christian movement in China. The Council is being regarded as a Bolshevich Aid Society and has been accused for being an organization that is more interested in social and political affairs. It is also regarded as an organization which represents the modernist position in the Christian Church. So you see that we are facing not only problems with the people outside of the Christian movement, but also with those within. It is a great pity, that at such a time of trouble in the country which is affecting us seriously, that the Christian people, instead of showing to the world a united front, is fighting against one another and trying to effect each other's destruction. It is not the anti-Christian

April 8, 1927.

Dr. James M. Yard,  
Page ---- 2

movement that is bothering us so much as the trouble with the fold of the Christian Church. How can Christianity hope to win its day under such conditions of things. Should we not confess our sins before God and cry to Him for deliverance from this state of things so that the non-Christian world may not be able to say, "see how the Christians hate one another".

The situation in China is pretty serious, Missionaries are evacuating from the interior to the coast, hundreds are leaving China and some for good. Churches, schools and hospitals, many of which, have been taken by the soldiers of party people. In some cases, Christians have been badly treated. The recent incident in Nanking and nearby cities have alarmed the whole world. We are exceedingly sorry for this sort of thing. We believe that there is much that is good and noble in this rationalistic movement which is trying the exceedingly difficult task of re-generating China, but at the same time, we realize that there is a strong force in this movement that is trying to pull things down then built them up. It is this element that is making all the trouble for China at the present time. We earnestly hope that our friends in the West will understand the real situation here and not to condemn the whole movement because of this undesirable element in it. Let us pray that China may soon be able to stand upon its feet and put its house in order, for it is not China's progress, but its backwardness that is dangerous to the peace of the world.

With warm greetings.

Yours sincerely,

*C. Y. Cheng*  
C. Y. Cheng

CYC/ekhc